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Proceedings of the Fourth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Delhi in January 1922.

The fourth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in the Hall of St Stephen's College on the 6th January 1922. The sitting was open to the public and there was a large and representative audience. The following members were present —

PRESIDENT

Mr H. Sharp C S I, C I E, M A, Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education and Health

MEMBERS

Professor Jadunath Saikar, M A, I E.S, Bihar and Orissa

The Ven Archdeacon W K Fuminger, D. D, B Litt.

Mr H Dodwell, M A, Curator, Madras Record Office

Mr J M Mitra, M A, Rai Bahadur, Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (Secretary)

The following co-opted members were present —

Rai Bahadur B A Gupte, F Z S, Curator, Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta

Mr R K. Ranadive, M A, representing the Baroda State

Mr Mathu Lal, B A, representing the Indore State

Professors S A Khan, Litt D., F R Hist S, and Beni Prasad, M A, of the Allahabad University, were present by special invitation

The Hon'ble Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi, Member of the Governor-General's Council for the Department of Education and Health, who was to have opened the meeting, being unavoidably absent, Mr Sharp opened the proceedings. He welcomed the Commission to Delhi and reviewed at length the activities of the Commission during the three years of its existence and announced that the Government of India had accepted the proposal of the Commission to issue a series of monographs containing interesting material for students of Indian history. He welcomed the public to an exhibition¹ of historical paintings and manuscripts which are in the possession of private persons and which had been specially put together for the occasion. He thanked those gentlemen who had kindly lent their paintings and manuscripts, and Mr Ashfaq Ali, Gallery Assistant, Delhi Museum, who was

¹ A list of the exhibits is given at the end

specially in charge of the work, and Mr Ahsan Jan, of the Bureau of Education, who assisted him. He also thanked the Secretary, Mr J M Mitra, for the general arrangements for the meeting, who, he regretted, would shortly be leaving the Commission for more utilitarian, but less romantic work in Bengal.

Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi, who presided over the meeting after lunch received the congratulations of the Commission for the title of K C S.I, which had been conferred on him on the New Year's day.

The following papers were read and discussion was invited on them —

Aurangzib's Siege of Satara (as described in contemporary records).

(By Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M A , I E S.)

Aurangzib's siege of Satara occupied nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ months, or exactly 134 days, from the 8th December 1699 to the 21st April 1700. We possess daily court news-letters (called *Alhbarát-i-darbár-i-mualá*) for all these months except Ramzan (10 Feb—10 Mar), which is spent by the Muhammadans in fasting and comparative abstention from work. These news-letters tell us day by day of the occurrences in the Emperor's Court and the siege camp and the activities of the Marathas, both the garrison within the fort and their field armies who tried to make diversions and thus raise the siege. The news-sheets for certain dates are wanting in the collection that has survived to our times, but this defect is supplied and the meagre account of the extant sheets is sometimes supplemented by the Persian official history of the reign, styled *Múshir-i-Alamgiri* composed by Saqi Mustad Khan, at the instance of the chief minister Inayetullah Khan, on the basis of the Delhi imperial records, immediately after Aurangzib's death.

Khafi Khan's gossip history, though written more than thirty years after this incident, derived some assistance from the actors in it, but his account is too short to be of any assistance to us. The same remark applies to another contemporary writer, Bhimsen Burhanpuri, who wrote much earlier than Khafi Khan, but was not personally present at the siege. The information supplied by the news-letters is remarkably corroborated in two instances by the curious volume of Aurangzib's personal anecdotes and sayings composed by Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur (surnamed *Nimcha-i-Alamgiri*) which I discovered and have edited, annotated and translated into English. There is no contemporary Marathi source, and Grant Duff's account is based on later and less accurate materials.

These contemporary records enable us to reconstruct the story of the siege of Satara in full detail and to see the exact course of events as they happened day by day, as if we had been present at the operations.

The siege of Satara is of peculiar importance to the student of Mughal history. First, because it is typical of the many sieges of Deccan hill forts in which

Aurangzib wore out the last ten years of his life and ruined his army and treasury. A detailed study of it will make it unnecessary for the historical student to study the other sieges, as the methods of the besiegers and the besieged and the progress of events were very nearly the same in all of them.

Secondly, this siege affords a striking illustration of the real inefficiency of the Mughal army even when an exceptionally gifted and energetic master and veteran general like Aurangzib was personally directing its operations. As we read the fresh, ungarbled, plain records day by day, we realize the utter incapacity of the Mughal artillery department, its failure to carry any strong place by breach and assault or to reduce it by bombardment. Even the work of completely investing the fort was so badly done by the imperial army that the Marathas had ingress and egress into the fort almost to the last. On the other hand, we find Aurangzib's grand army itself before Satara hill in a state of siege, the Maratha bands roving round, provisions brought into camp only under strong armed convoy, the roads kept open only by sending out many flying columns each under a general of the first rank, the foraging parties from the siege camp and even the draught cattle and elephants belonging to it unable to move one step outside the lines of encampment except under strong escort.

Aurangzib, a shrewd judge of men, has left for us his own opinion of the inefficiency of his officers. The news-letter for 29th Shaban, 1c, the day before the month of Ramzan commenced, gives us the following characteristic anecdote —

"One *prahar* and four *gharis* after nightfall, the Emperor summoned the Chief Qazi Muhammad Akram and asked him to sit down, which he did in a corner. His Majesty then rose from his throne and sat down by the side of the Qazi—[i.e., on the carpet] He said, 'I wished to pass the month of Ramzan at Sholapur, engaged in prayer. But my officers do not apply their bodies to my work. I urge them again and again, but it has no effect.' For two *gharis* did His Majesty talk in this vein, complaining of his servants, and then dismissed the Qazi to his quarters."

We now turn to the history of the siege.

After a four years' stay at Brahmapur on the Bhima river, which he renamed Islampur and where his camp grew into a town, Aurangzib set out, on 19th October 1699, to conquer the Maratha forts in person. Then began a period of ceaseless and strenuous exertion and endurance of privations on the part of this old man of eighty-one, which ended only with his death eight years later. By the year 1699, the fort of Jinji in the Madras Karnatak had already fallen, and the Maratha King Raja Ram had slipped back from that fort to Maharashtra. Thus, in consequence of this one event while the Emperor's armies were released and he was freed from anxiety in respect of the south-eastern quarter, it became imperative that he should bring matters to a decisive issue by concentrating all the forces of his empire in the south-western quarter, 1c, Maharashtra.

Twenty days after leaving Islampur, he reached Miraj. Two high generals, Ruhullah Khan and Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur, were sent ahead to ravage the country between Panhala and Satara and "leave neither the name nor the vestige

of habitation" (*M A* 409.) Six miles from the important Mughal outpost of Masui, he came to the fort of Basant-garh, which stood two miles off the bank of the Krishna river, and the awe inspired by his presence brought about its capitulation in three days (on 25th November 1699)

Thence, on 30th November, he suddenly turned towards Satara, countermanding the expedition of Ruhullah and Hamid-ud-din towards the Panhala district and ordering them to march up to Satara fort. On 8th December the Emperor himself arrived in the environs of this place and pitched his enormous camp at the village of Karanja, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east of the hill, where a pillar erected¹ by the British Government marks the site.

The political importance of Satara lay in its having been the favourite residence of Shivaji ever since his acquisition of it in 1673, no doubt owing to the fact that his *guru* Ramdas lived in the neighbouring hill of Parli (six miles to the south-west) and held conversations with him (so the legend runs) over this distance through the air! Raja Ram, the then Maratha King, had transferred his administrative offices here. In fact Satara was now the enemy's capital and arsenal in one.

The fort of Satara stands 900 feet above the plain, on a steep-sided flat-topped hill south of the town of that name. A small shoulder projects from the fort on the south. The fort stretches 1,100 yards east to west and 600 yards north to south, its summit being shaped like a triangle, of which the base is the rampart running from the north-eastern to the south-eastern angle and having a strong tower near its northern end. It is defended by a steep perpendicular precipice of black rock, about forty feet high, surmounted by a masonry stone-work and breastworks with loopholes for defence. There are only two gates, one in the north about 150 yards from the north-western angle, and the other a mere sally-port on the south side, the same distance from the south-eastern angle. The approach to this last gate is almost inaccessible from steepness. The old paths connecting the fort with the town are very steep and zigzag to the gate, where they join the wide modern road.

The walls are generally not less than ten feet thick, with a parapet two or three feet thick and much the same in height. On the top are not less than nine ponds cut out of the rock and having plenty of water.

On the north-east of Satara, at a distance of 12 to 15 miles is a spur of the Mhadav range of hills, among which the fort of Chandan Vandan (3,841 feet above sea-level) stands out conspicuous. The small town of Rahamatpur is 17 miles to the south-east [*Bombay Gazetteer*, xix, 572 *et seq.*]

A short distance off the north-western corner of Satara hill rises the long ridge of Yavteshwar, while the fort of Parli towers 1,045 feet above the plain six miles westwards. A short low spur runs northwards from the north-eastern corner of the hill of Satara, much of it having been demolished as the result of sapping by the Mughal besiegers. A little to the west of this north-eastern corner is the

¹ The pillar stands west of the village of Karanja and north of the Poona-Satara road

Mangalai gate (now closed), the modern gate is near the north-western angle, while the wicket or sally-port is situated over a steep incline, a little west of the south-eastern corner

Prince Azam Shah with Khudabanda Khan was posted between Parli and Yavteshwar, i.e., along the western face of the besieged fort, Tarbiyat Khan (the Chief of the Imperial Artillery) opposite the Mangalai gate in the northern face, with Mumin Khan on his right, Ruhullah Khan opposite the southern side with Mansur Khan (Chief of the Deccan Artillery) on his flank. The imperial camp was pitched at Karanja nearly two miles north of the north-eastern corner of the fort

Marching from Basant-gaon northwards to Satara, Aurangzib crossed the Krishna on 8th December, 1699. When in the midst of the river, he dismounted from his portable throne to the back of a pony, wrote a prayer on a piece of paper and threw it into the river. Then the march was resumed and the village of Karanja reached in the evening. On a paper plan the site of the camp was parcelled out among the nobles and each was ordered to occupy the spot allotted to him (19th December). On 24th December the camp limits were surveyed and its extent was found to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ kos and 25 tent-ropes (*jarib*). The men who had encamped at a distance and apart from one another were ordered to be brought closer together. It was the Emperor's wish to construct an abatis (*khar bundi*) around his entire encampment, in order to protect it from Maratha raids and night attacks. Next day he ordered a wall to be raised round it, 5 *jarib* of length being given to each *hazari* and $2\frac{1}{2}$ *jarib* to each commander of 500, at distances of 5 *jarib*. When generals went out in command of the foraging parties, their families were removed to the immediate neighbourhood of the Emperor's tent, within the *gulal bar* (outer canvas wall of the imperial quarters), at their request. On the 21st an order was issued that a body of musketeers should duly patrol three times round the camp, as was the practice at the imperial base at Islampur.

Siege operations were begun on 9th December. Tarbiyat Khan, the Chief of Artillery, had reconnoitred the fort on the 7th and drawn a plan of it, selecting sites for trenches and a raised battery with the help of Hnachand, the Superintendent of axe-men (*beldars*), and Dula, the Superintendent of porters (*lathars*). This plan was shown to the Emperor in the night of the 8th and he assigned different sections of the line of investment to different officers. Tarbiyat Khan reported that the rocky nature of the ground made it extremely difficult to dig trenches.

Tarbiyat Khan made his approaches to the main gate of the fort, and arriving at 13 yards from it began to build a raised battery opposite the tower protecting the gate. The garrison were well supplied with artillery material. "Day and night they fired rockets, muskets, grenade (*hagga*), *cadar*, *ashl* and *matwalu* without cessation" [M. A. III]. One day 80 shots were counted as coming from the fort, but the execution done was slight only two valmies being killed. The Mughuls mounted a big gun here and let it into the fort, then rockets also fell inside the fort. But then musketry was very loud and

more occasions than one stone balls from this gun, *Kark Byli*,¹ fell within Prince Azam Shah's encampment, close to his sleeping tent. It was considered necessary to shift its position for the safety of the Prince's camp, but no other place could be found for mounting it. So, the Emperor ordered the gun to be fired more carefully! (29th January). Two days later a grenade fired from the fort was picked up unexploded in the Prince's lines, the Emperor examined it and ordered his own artillery department to make similar ones.

But the investment was not complete. The enemy could enter and issue from the fort almost to the end of the siege. The western side, towards Parli, was insufficiently guarded, and Prince Azam was suspected of conniving at the admission of reinforcements and provisions into the fort. An outpost, surrounded by an abatis, was established near Parli, to watch that side more effectively (18th December). On 6th January the Emperor learnt that the enemy used to issue from the fort and fetch water from a spring in the skirt of the hill, beyond Ruhullah Khan's trenches and close to Azam's lines. On the 13th this spring was seized by a body of the Prince's men, who thenceforth held it.

The garrison used to make frequent sorties. In the night of 11th December they fell on the trenches of Mumin Khan, who luckily was on the alert and repelled them. Five days later the attempt was repeated at midnight, but Mumin Khan and the son of Satwa Dasse and other men posted in the stockade made a firm stand, and the enemy retired after fighting for nearly an hour and losing heavily. On the Mughal side Mumin Khan was hurt by a stone and many of his comrades wounded.²

A grand attack was planned by the enemy for 1st April. At night a party had issued from Parli for reinforcing Satara, but Ruhullah and Fathullah had intercepted and repulsed them with loss. In the following afternoon, about 2 P.M., three hundred of the enemy made a bold sortie from Satara, fell on Fathullah's trenches and threw down one or two wooden casemates (*hajwa*). But they were repulsed with loss and the casemates were carried forward, the Khan was wounded by a stone, the enemy lost five slain.

But the greatest danger to the Mughals came from the Maratha field armies, who practically reduced the imperial camp to a state of siege. Foraging parties had to be sent out under strong escort. The highest nobles had to go out in command on successive days. Dhana Jadon, the Maratha leader, forming his army in three divisions, had spread round Islampur, plundering many places. The Wazir Asad-Khan, who had been left in charge of the Base camp there, had to march out and repulse him. On 10th December Shankar laid siege to the Mughal outpost at Chamargunda. Nine days later, when Ghori Khan, the

¹ Incorrectly spelt in my MS as *Kark Ali*.

² On 17th December, the Emperor rode in a portable throne to the tent pitched for him behind the trenches of Tarbiyat Khan. Without entering the tent, he went ahead and dismounted at the foot of the hill, viewing the fort with a telescope. The enemy fired at him. Though shots were falling around him and his son urged him to fall back, the Emperor stood there for an hour and then came back to his own quarters a little before midday.

Faujdar of Kārārābād, was returning from the imperial camp to his charge, he was captured between Rahmatpur and Masui by an enemy force of 3,000 troopers. On 21st and 22nd December Hamid-ud-din Khan inflicted two defeats on Dhana Jadon, near Masui, Dado Malhar was shot dead, and Ghori Khan was rescued, there were heavy losses on both sides. Dhana retreated 14 miles. On the 27th Ikhlas Khan when patrolling only four miles from the camp was enveloped by Hanumant and slain with his son (Muhammad Yar) and many followers. The enemy made spoil of his property. On the 30th a strong army was sent under five great nobles to chastise the enemy and retrieve this last disaster. But the elusive enemy could not be crushed, they appeared here, there, everywhere at distances of four or five miles round the camp. On 7th January, an imperial division sent out to expel them, was itself enveloped and could be rescued only by sending out strong reinforcements and after strenuous fighting. On the 10th a pitched battle was fought six miles beyond Rahmatpur, Nusrat Jang, Bahramand and Hamid-ud-din attacking Dhana Jadon, Hanumant and Ranoji and their 15,000 men from two sides and pushing them back for a mile with slaughter (500 men) and taking much booty. A pyramid was built with the severed heads of the dead enemy, by order of the Emperor. On 22nd January, Dhana Jadon captured the Thanahdar of Khānapur. The forts of Chandan Vandan were the chief refuge of enemy raiders, who made the northern road insecure to the imperialists. A Mughal force was deputed to the vicinity, they brought back some captives (men, women and children) from the trenches at the foot of the hill and 250 heads of cattle (6th April). Six days later another detachment burnt the village below these forts and carried off 300 cattle.

But the chief difficulty of the imperial camp sprang from the stoppage of grain transport and foraging in its vicinity through enemy activity. The oxen of the professional grain-carriers (*banjāras*) and even the imperial camels and elephants, when they stepped outside the camp limits, were lifted by the enemy. Strict orders were issued that the grain-carriers should be given armed escort in their journeys, and whenever the camp cattle or camels went out to graze or men issued for foraging, strong forces should accompany them and guard the line of their return to camp by taking post at strategic positions on the way. Ramchand, the thanahdar of Khatanun, received lavish rewards for convoying grain to the camp where famine was raging (10th January) in consequence of the enemy's activity, so also were some other thanahdars. Four thousand oxen loaded with grain had reached Sampgaon at the end of December. On 3rd February, 8,000 oxen were escorted into camp with supplies. The enemy had, at the commencement of the siege, burnt the grass for twenty miles round Satara, and their roving bands cut off supplies coming to the imperial camp, where, in consequence, "the scarcity of grain and fodder reached the extreme point" [M A 414]. The above supplies gave some amount of relief.

In a few days Taibiyat Khan carried his trenches to a place 13 yards from the fort gate and there erected a raised battery (*darudama*) 24 yards high, opposite the bastion. "In procuring materials for it, not a tree was left standing within 30

or 40 *kos* of Sitara" [M A 414] Eight thousand sacks were taken from the market and filled with sand to form a bulwark round it Three hundred oxen were employed to transport timber for the battery

The enemy tried hard to demolish this work In the night of 9th February they hurled stones on it, killing one and wounding four men and destroying three camel-litters (used as casemates?) in the shield around it Orders were issued to fill the empty chests of the public treasury and the money-changers with sand and stone and line the battery with them. One hundred and fifty water-men were posted there to put out fires promptly.

Further advance was rendered impossible by the stones hurled by the garrison Taibiyat Khan then began a covered lane for approaching the wall Kunjaman (the *mushrif* of the artillery department) was ordered to go out with 2,000 camels under proper escort and bring wood from the neighbouring forests, the officers had to supply ten camels for each 1,000 troopers of their rank (*zât*), and in this way 1,400 camels were secured

The walls of the lane were formed by the earth and stone dug out and the top was covered with what are called portable ladders (*zinah-i-ravân*) i.e., wooden platforms or decks¹ "In making these ladders he used up a thousand camel-litters, the firewood of the neighbouring plains and many bags of flax (*tât*) and even fine linen costing 4 yards a Rupee" [M A 415]

Within a few days 24 yards of hard stony soil had been excavated and the mine carried under the fort But these preparations were judged to be inadequate for ensuring success to the assault. The only gain of the imperialists for all their pains was that guns were dragged up to the top of the battery and the garrison could no longer show their heads above the fort walls and fire muskets, but had to hide themselves behind the walls and only throw stones. On 31d April the battery was elevated still further to make it level with the parapet of the fort

An escalade was attempted, but proved a failure - Two thousand Mavle infantry "expert in capturing forts" were assembled on the imperial side and paid Rs 1,36,000, as three years' salary in advance, on promising to storm the fort Materials for an assault, such as ladders, leather covers etc., were collected An hour before dawn, 23rd January, the Mavles fixed rope-ladders to the ramparts and tried to enter the fort But at this time some two hundred Maratha infantry, who were coming from another fort to the succour of Satara, noticed the attempt and raised a shout which warned the garrison The surprise was abandoned, but the newcomers were attacked, losing five killed and fourteen taken prisoner These captives, together with three others taken by a Mughal ambushing party on the road below Chandan Vandan some days before, were ordered by Aurangzib to be taken to the bed of the Krishna and there beheaded There was a boy among them, but the Qazi who was consulted declared it lawful according to the *Quran* to slay him too They were all slain with the exception of the son of the *qiladar* of

¹ The news-letter for 25th December records The Emperor inspected one of the ladders [the MS is badly written and the word looks like *sinhri*, but the meaning is a shield like the tortoise of Roman armies] made for the assault on Satara He pronounced it worthless and ordered new ones to be made one cubit by one yard

Chandan Vandan who promised to surrender the fort in return for his life. Another version of this incident is given in Hamid-ud-din Khan's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, which I have translated in my *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, § 71.

Tarbiyat Khan was discredited by the failure of the attempt to storm the fort from his side. The Emperor ordered Pathullah Khan to run another trench from the side of the gate of the fort, under the command of Ruhullah. After one month's labour the approach was carried to under the fusse braye (*revoni*) of the fort. Meantime Tarbiyat Khan had been working hard to retrieve his fame. He dug a recess in the stone parapet (*sang-chin*) of the fort, hollowing out a space of 4 yards by 10 in the wall. "Only a thin partition, a yard in thickness, separated the garrison from the imperialists who kept watch in the recess, but neither side ventured to cross it. It was decided to fill the whole cavity with gunpowder and overthrow the wall and make a breach for the storming party" [*M A* 416].

The chamber of the mine had been completed as early as 27th March, but the Emperor decided to raise the *damdama* one yard higher before charging the chamber and firing the mine. The battery and mine were repeatedly inspected by order of the Emperor and the assault was delayed.

At last the order to fire the mines was given. They were exploded on 13th April at dawn. The first overthrew a *culcha* wall which fell inside the fort and destroyed many of the garrison who had crowded on the wall. According to the Marathi accounts relied upon by Grant Duff, Piagji Piabhu, havildar of the fort, was buried under the debris, but dug out alive. The Persian records are silent about him.

The second mine exploded with disastrous consequences to the Mughals. It blew up a *pucca* bastion or tower (*burj*) ten yards in height and twenty yards in length, but the mass fell outwards, on the assailants. By the Emperor's orders the forlorn hope and the supporting columns had been thickly massed here close under the tower and upon the hill slope descending from it. "In addition to the cavalry, infantry, artillery, imperial bodyguard (*khás-chauki*), Afghan and Ghakkir clansmen, Karnatakis and other troops who had been previously posted in the trenches, some thousands of fresh troops under the High Bakhshi Mukhlis Khan and Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur had, by the Emperor's order, been sent to this place, with the view of following the forlorn hope as it stormed the breach and thus making the hold upon the fort good. No warning had been given to this vast body of troops to run back when the second fuse was ignited.

The tower fell on this dense mass of humanity, "the hills of stone and earth were showered down on them, battering them to death. Those who had hidden themselves in mud holes found ready made graves there. Many were flung into the nadir and their limbs were scattered. In short, nearly 2,000 brave soldiers perished," (*M A* 416-17,) including four to five hundred Mavles.

The explosion opened a wide path for the storming party. Some brave imperial infantry men, specially Bajji Diffe¹ (son of Satwa Diffe—the founder of

¹ The incident is described in the official history, *Masir-i-Alamgiri*. The name of the hero has been given to me by his descendant, the present Chief of Jath.

the State of Jath in the Bijapur district)—ran up to the top of the wall shouting to their comrades "Come up! there are no enemies here!" But none followed them. The men in the trenches that survived were too confounded and alarmed by the catastrophe to stir outside. The brave foilorn hope (including Bajī Daffē) were slain, for the garrison on clearly seeing the effect of the explosion recovered heart and rushing to the breach cut off the heads of the living and the wounded. For some time there was an exchange of arrows and musketry fire between the two sides. The enemy were firmly planted behind the tower, and easily drove back Mukhlis Khan, Tarbiyat Khan, Hamid-ud-din Khan and some other imperialists who attempted a charge. The Emperor had set up a tent for himself in the trenches of Tarbiyat Khan and wanted to go there, but was dissuaded from endangering his own person, as even the trenches could now be held with difficulty. Khwaja Daulat Mahalli came from the front and reported that all the bravest men had been killed and the trenches could not be maintained unless fresh men were pushed up. The *damdama* had collapsed and its artillery was lying overturned on the hill-side. Four hundred troopers and all the artillery of Bahramand Khan were now sent there to hold the gap, with water-carriers, carpenters and materials. The garrison gained no footing outside.

The relatives of some of the victims of the explosion who could make their way to the scene, extracted some of the dead and wounded and carried them to their quarters. The Mavle infantry saddened by the loss of their kinsmen and comrades and unable to recover their bodies from under "that hill of stone and clay", at night set fire to the entrenchments which were entirely of wood, so as to ensure the Hindu form of funeral to their dead! The fire burnt for seven days and nights and these costly siege works were totally destroyed [M. A. 419]

Meantime, in the month of March the Emperor had received news of the death of Raja Ram, the Maratha King, and of his five-year old son Shivaji who had been enthroned as his successor and who died of small-pox in Khelna. Parasuram, the chief minister of this king, now joined the imperialists. At these events, Subhānji, the *qiladar* of Satara, lost heart. Tarbiyat Khan had demolished 70 yards of the fort wall, Fathullah's trenches were approaching the main gate and his guns bombarding it, the big gun *Mulk-zabt* mounted on a hillock behind the Prince's lines was demolishing houses in the fort, 400 of the garrison had been killed by the explosion, and other Maratha generals were hastening to join the Emperor, so, he sent Mianji (intermediary) to Prince Azam to beg for his mediation in securing the Emperor's pardon. [M. A. 420.] The Emperor granted the garrison very favourable terms.

The Mughal flag was hoisted on the fort on 21st April. The day before Ruhullah and Tarbiyat were ordered to fall back from their trenches, while Matlab Khan was to go to the front of the gate and see that none hindered the garrison in coming out. But the Marathas were afraid of these men, and so Prince Azam's own guards were sent there to reassure them. On the 22nd the

garrison began to march out at five hours after sunrise and alighted on a spot assigned to them near the Prince's camp. The *qiladar* came out three hours before sunset and received from the Prince a jewelled locket worth Rs 440. Next day he was taken to the Emperor, who created him a commander of 5,000 in rank (with 2,000 additional troopers) and gave him many presents and Rs 20,000 in cash. His followers and the other Maratha officers lately in the fort entered the imperial service.

The fort was renamed *Azam-tara* in honour of Prince Azam Shah, who had ensured its capitulation. The imperial band played joyous notes, congratulatory offerings were made to the Emperor by the Prince and the officers, far and near, in honour of the victory.

The Persian news-letters afford some interesting side-lights. We read that during the siege the Mughals shot a tigress in the environs of the fort, and that deer was abundant in the neighbouring hills. Some of them were hunted with trained leopards. Near the camp there were melon-beds, one basket of the fruit being presented to the Emperor. On the top of Satara the *chámeli* flower was in bloom at the time of its fall. There was one mosque within the fort, and another, an old and dilapidated one ("in sore need of repair and thatching"), surrounded by tombs behind Ruhullah Khan's trenches.

The artillery and *matériel* captured at Satara included—seven big guns (*top*), five smaller pieces (*rahlata*), nine swivels (*zambural*), 14 [maunds of] powder, 1 maund 3 seers of lead, 280 grenades (*hugqa*) and 10 rockets (*bán*).

A rhyming letter which Aurangzib wrote to his son Azam, describing the hardships of the besiegers, is given in India Office MS 1344, folio 50a and in British Museum Addl 26240, p 108.

There was no discussion on this paper

University Reform and Historical Research

(By the Rev P. N. F. Young, M.A., St Stephen's College, Delhi.)

It was, I presume, out of compliment to this College, which is privileged to provide accommodation to the Commission this year, that I was asked to read a paper before you to-day. The exacting claims of full College work in addition to the demands made on the time of a clergyman, to say nothing of the irritating frequency with which the Punjab University changes its courses of study, have made it impossible for me to indulge in any first-hand study of Indian history and its records, I have, therefore, no claim whatever to address you.

Nevertheless, the teacher's experience may not be without value in suggesting lines of change that may promote the objects for which this Commission exists. I am therefore venturing under the somewhat pretentious title of this paper to put forward very briefly a few suggestions which, however commonplace they may be, deal with matters of such importance that they merit the emphasis of repetition.

Though every scholar will welcome the modern constitutional movement which seeks to establish teaching universities and to give more power to academic bodies in the management of academic affairs, in looking at university reform from the point of view of historical research our attention is naturally turned not so much to constitutional as to administrative matters. It is here chiefly that we must look for an explanation of the fact that the volume of historical research turned out in India to-day is very much less than it ought and might be.

What would go further in correcting this state of affairs, it is here contended, is the creation in each university of what can only be described as an academic atmosphere. It is difficult to analyse this impalpable but very real thing, but at least it means the existence of a compact university society in which it is taken for granted that research, apart from teaching, is a natural and proper pre-occupation of certain of its members, and in which such work is given the highest possible honour. It is important to stress the word *society* and to insist that conditions must be such that scholars in the same and kindred subjects should naturally and frequently meet each other and sharpen each other's wits. Scholarship in isolation soon loses the fineness of its point and its inspiration. It must then be regarded as the primary duty of those responsible in any university for its historical studies to secure the presence of one or more real scholars with the power of creating enthusiasm in others, themselves in close touch with similar scholars in Archaeology, the Classical languages and Economics and, for this is essential, with sufficient leisure to pursue their proper work unhampered by the necessity of delivering a multiplicity of lectures.

But scholars without materials are pathetic beings, and speaking locally at any rate, the library provision available is pitifully inadequate. Nor is it easy to see the remedy. It is impossible, even if it were desirable, to make a collection of records at Calcutta do for Indian what the concentration of records in London does for English history, it is equally impossible to provide an all-round equipment for all the many Indian Universities. Perhaps the Commission is already engaged on the task, but if not, it would seem eminently desirable to persuade different universities to specialise on those lines of research which their position and the records at their disposal best indicate. The process has of itself already begun and if a well-thought plan of this character were carefully formulated and found acceptance it would then be possible for the Universities concerned to concentrate locally the records particularly dealing with that specialised research which would be their peculiar function. There are obvious difficulties in the carrying out of such a scheme, but some form of specialisation, guided by a central body able to view the problem as a whole, would seem to be a necessity if we are to take historical research seriously in this country.

We spoke above of the need for a university society breathing an academic atmosphere and we had in view the senior members of the university. But if there be no regular provision for its recruitment upwards from the undergraduate ranks it will fail of its purpose. And here, I think, we put our finger on one of the weakest spots in our university educational system. To put it bluntly scholarship

is not even made moderately worth while as a vocation. I remember in particular one brilliant young student who came under my instruction. I would have given very much to have been able to say to him "Here is Rs 150 per mensem, you are now free, in association with other and older scholars, to make the most of your abilities for two years, and if at the end of that time you have proved your worth, I can assure you a position by which you can make scholarship your life's work." It was impossible to say that then, and it is still impossible in the University of the Punjab and, I suspect, in most universities in India.¹ Post-graduate scholarships are admirable things, but even if of sufficient amount to make the holders otherwise economically independent they fail by leaving the scholar in comparative isolation. It is precisely because in some universities of the West what are rightly called Fellowships associate the young scholar intimately in life and thought with a learned corporation that they bear such rich fruit. One longs for the day when the colleges of Indian universities will be able to initiate fellowships comparable to those of the famous colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Until something like that is done we cannot expect scholarship to be forthcoming, and year by year until it is done talent is being thrown away irretrievably.

All this implies that the ordinary history course should be one which naturally leads students up to more advanced work, implies, too, that the teaching of history in schools is greatly improved, and much that is out of place here might be said on both topics, more to the point is the fact that none of the suggestions just made can be carried out without greatly improved financial resources. It would probably be wrong for some generations to come to look to Government for such resources. On the other hand, the promotion of learning is one of the highest responsibilities of individual wealth, and to have promoted sound learning one of the truest claims to the title of patriot.

There was no discussion on this paper

Sources for the History of British India in the leading British Archives

(By Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt D, F R Hist S, University Professor of Modern Indian History, Allahabad.)

The seventeenth century English history has excited a strange fascination in the minds of English historical scholars, and the work of Guider, Macaulay, Firth, Cunningham, Scott, Trevelyan, Andrews, and a host of German historians has brought about an appreciable change in our knowledge of the period. Nearly every aspect of the diversified activity of the English people during that remarkable century has been minutely investigated. Religion, Economics, Politics, Education, Literature, and Art—all have claimed their enthusiastic followers.

There is, however, one aspect of British activity which seems to me to have escaped the attention of the student. The history of England's intercourse with India

¹ Allahabad provides an honourable exception.

during the seventeenth century has, I am convinced, to be written anew Sir William Hunter's monumental work is a fairly safe guide, and the student will begin his study of the seventeenth century with a careful analysis of the documents utilised by that industrious scholar.

The main fault of the existing works on the subject lies in their concentration on the history of the Company's factories in India, and their neglect of its influence on the foreign, no less than the economic, policy of England during the period Indian History must be studied as a unity, exhibiting the fullness, breadth and range of her social, economic, political and religious life Unless we keep this fundamental principle in mind, our horizon will be blurred, and our views narrow, parochial, and one-sided

This seems to me to be the greatest drawback in our conception of the influence of the East India Company on English polity in the seventeenth century Roughly speaking, the Company remained powerless till the Restoration Its petitions for redress of its grievances, complaints of harsh treatment by its rivals in the East, and vigorous demands for reprisals were ignored This was due, of course, to the comparatively timid foreign policy inaugurated by James I, and the vacillating attitude of Charles I Under Oliver Cromwell, there was a revival of the vigour that had characterised the foreign policy of Henry VIII and Elizabeth

The second important stage in the Company's history is reached in 1660. Under Charles II, the foreign, no less than the economic, policy of England received a specific mould from the new spheres of activity into which the Company flung itself with redoubled energy

The last stage of the Company's history is reached in 1689 The thirteen years of strife that followed—its dramatic suddenness, the intensity of its passions, and the characteristic devices resorted to by both the parties—is portrayed in the prolific literature on the subject The violent pamphlet war, and the still more violent parliamentary struggle, in which the New Company and the Old, the Whigs and the Tories, the Free Traders and the Bullionists took part, must be carefully studied, if the student is to arrive at sound conclusions

These are the three important stages in the history of the Company, and for each stage there exists an abundance of material that may well astonish the scholar The four great national archives in England—the British Museum Library, the Bodleian Library, the Public Record Office and the India Office Record Department—must be consulted, and the documents preserved therein carefully compared.

It is impossible to give a detailed account of the data within the time at my disposal Those who take interest in the subject are referred to the *Journal of Indian History*, published by the Department of Modern Indian History, University of Allahabad Further information may be derived from my work on the East India Trade, which the Clarendon Press, Oxford, hope to bring out next July.

I

The primary documents on seventeenth century British India must be consulted in the India Office Record Department. It contains probably the most complete collection of data on the history of the East India Company in the world. I will go further, and assert that no other nation in the world can boast of such continuous, connected, exhaustive and complete storehouse of essential information. The Company's Minute Books unfold its chequered story in dull, grave and crisp sentences, and though the student will not always regard all the statements as true, he cannot ignore the essential importance of these stately volumes, recording all the events that influenced the course of its policy in the impassioned style characteristic of its proceedings. The Minutes, however, are not always a safe guide. They pass over some of the most notable events in the final stage of its history, and the student must have recourse to other documents for a complete grasp of that complex period. The other important series is the Manuscript Letter Books. The importance of these Letter Books has not, in my opinion, been recognised by the historians of the period. Colonel Yule, Hunter, Macaulay, and a host of other writers would have been spared a great amount of trouble, if they had studied the Despatches of the Directors contained in this valuable collection. The earlier volumes do not possess great importance. They are generally short, and deal mainly with the commercial activity of the Company. It is in the later volumes that the policy of Sir Josiah Child is displayed. Child has been misunderstood by some writers, and they have credited him with the design of founding an Empire in India. A careful study of these documents will convince one that Child never entertained such a grandiose project at that period. These two Series are indispensable to the student of the mechanism of the East India Company. They show the various stages through which the constitution and finances of the Company passed, and in them is reflected the change which Child introduced into the administration. There are other series that throw light on this aspect of its history. The Original Correspondence will repay perusal, and the Home Miscellaneous will furnish him with information on which the Company's Minute Books are strangely silent. The search for data is a tedious process, at all times, and our difficulty is not lessened by the existence of an abundance of heterogeneous material. Very few indeed possess the patience of Colonel Yule whose laborious search for data among the multitudinous records in the India Office is still remembered by the old officers of the Department. It is comparatively easy to piece together the necessary documents for the history of the Company's activities in England. The Minute Books and the Manuscript Letter Books, the Home Miscellaneous and Marine Records, the excellent collection of Charters, and the invaluable transcripts and translations of Portuguese and Dutch Records are all that need be consulted by the student. Our difficulties arise when the numerous documents in the Original Correspondence are laid under contribution. The Provincial Record Offices and the Imperial Record Office supplement our information, and a student must have constant recourse to these

storehouses of information. For a truly objective presentation of material and an exhaustive study of all the relevant data, the Record Offices in India must be constantly consulted.

II

The second important archive containing documents on seventeenth century British Indian History is the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane. It contains some very important data on the constitution of the Company, and our knowledge of some of the most important stages of its career would be incomplete without them. But the importance of its data lies mainly in the exhaustive collection of documents on the Company's negotiations with foreign powers. The Crown, of course, served as a link between the Company and its foreign rivals.

There are two important series deserving mention here. The Holland Correspondence in the State Papers Foreign contains an exhaustive collection of documents on the Company's negotiations with the Dutch, and we can follow the tortuous course of its policy with facility, for the records are admirably arranged, and the officers of the Record Office render invaluable aid to all the students who desire to clear up a point, or search for an important document. Mr J N Sainsbury has calendared the most important data in his *Calendar of State Papers East Indies*, while Mr William Foster has incorporated all the important papers in his *Court Minutes*, and *English Factories in India*. But abstracts of documents are never a good substitute for the original, and the student must go to the original authority for that vivid contact with reality, that conceptual grasp of the significant event, which the constant handling of original documents develops. Moreover, the Calendars of these documents deal only up to the year 1660, and the later history of the Company must still be studied in a series of valuable data dealing with the negotiations of the Company with the Dutch. The two Dutch Wars under Charles II, his negotiations for peace with Holland, and the various stages of his Treaties with Holland are explained by the data in the Holland Correspondence. They produced, in my opinion, a permanent effect on the policy of the Company, and very few historians have analysed the importance of the Company's representation to Charles II on the policy of the Dutch in the East.

Another important series in the Public Record Office is preserved in the Colonial Office, 77. The sixteen volumes of this series contain an invaluable collection of data on all the important aspects of activity. They are very copious, and contain a most interesting collection of tracts, papers, petitions, despatches, memorial copies of Commission, and diplomatic correspondence. Messrs Foster and Sainsbury have furnished us with summaries of important documents in the first seven volumes of this series. I believe a rich mine awaits an inquirer, and the last 9 volumes will modify many of our ideas on the Company's work in the East. The Company's negotiations with the Dutch, its quarrel with the Portuguese over Bombay, the expulsion of its factors from Bantam, its fierce struggle with the Interlopers, its fight in and out of Parliament—these are some of the subjects with which the later volumes deal.

Besides these two series, mention may be made here of the Entry Books. Some of them are of importance for the diplomatic history of the period. The news-letters yield priceless information to the patient scholar. They must be very carefully analysed, for some of them contain mere gossip. The Public Record Office is indispensable to the student of political history, and its documents are necessary to the student of economic history. In it are preserved all the data for the history of the Company's negotiations with foreign powers.

British Museum—The British Museum Library contains documents of two leading types. In the first place, it supplements our information on the dealings of the Company with foreign powers. The invaluable documents in the Lansdowne Manuscripts, the Harleian MSS and the Additional MSS throw light on the negotiations with the Dutch, the extent of its influence on the policy of the Crown, the growth of its trade, and the opposition it encountered after the Revolution. Mention may be made here of a series of transcripts from foreign Record Offices, the official papers of Sir George Downing, in the Additional MSS, throwing vivid light on the motives, no less than the policy of that vigorous personality. There are some very important papers on the history of the Old and the New Companies during the last 9 years of the seventeenth century, while the accounts of its factories in India by various writers, and the growth of its trade in the East, are explained in numerous papers. Some of these documents have been utilised by the historian, but the great majority of them have not been consulted by any student before.

The other type consists of rare tracts, broadsides, fly-sheets, news letters, and other printed documents. Their importance lies mainly in the light they throw on the influence of the East India Trade on the economic theories of the period. It contains probably the most complete collection of works on the English Mercantilists, and a thorough study of these records shows clearly the effect of this trade on the economic theories of the seventeenth century. From Mun and Misselden to Sir Dudley North is a very long step, and the Free Trade theories, liberal sentiments, and scientific analysis of the economic laws seem utterly incompatible with the narrow outlook, and the narrower policy of Mun. But it would be easy to show that the growth of the East India Trade produced a radical change in, nay determined, the theories of Mun and North. This is in respect of the East India Trade that has been strangely ignored by the historians, yet a study of more than 200 pamphlets, and numerous broadsides, etc in the British Museum, has convinced me of the importance of the Trade to the student of Economic Theory. Many of the phenomena analysed by the English economic historians, Cunningham, Ashley etc must remain inexplicable to us, unless the influence of the East India Trade is estimated at its real worth. For this purpose, the British Museum Library offers unique facilities. In no other library can be found such a complete collection of pamphlets. It contains all the works of Mun, Misselden, Sir Dudley Digges, Robinson, Child, Davenant, Sir Dudley North, Pollexfen, besides a host of broadsides and news letters. The latter are specially voluminous after 1689 and were used effectively by all the parties to the dispute.

Bodleian Library—The Bodleian contains very valuable papers on the New Company, and is indispensable to the student. There are besides interesting pamphlets, throwing vivid light on the state of Indian manufactures in England. An interesting feature of the Rawlinson MSS in the Library is a series of letters by Sir Josiah Child.

A comparison of these letters with the Despatches of the Court of Directors to their factors in the East shows clearly enough the extent of Child's influence on the policy of the Company during the last ten years of its stormy history. Many of the quaint phrases, shrewd observations, and homely remarks contained in the Despatches reappear in his letters, while the economic theories, and principles of administration enumerated by him in several pamphlets are insisted upon in numerous letters to the Company's factors. The Bodleian Library also contains some very valuable logs, a few interesting trade reports, copies of Commissions to the Company's Commanders and reports of its negotiations with foreign powers.

Some important documents in the Appendices to the Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission are important, while the Guildhall Library, and Lincoln's Inn Library contain a few interesting tracts on the later history of the Company.

The Company's history must be viewed in three aspects (1) The sphere of its activity in the East, and the development of its trade with India.

(2) Secondly The history of its constitution and finances in the seventeenth century.

(3) Lastly The extent of its influence on the foreign and economic policy of England.

I believe the chief mistake of the earlier historians lay in their ignoring the last two aspects of its activity. They neglected to emphasise the part played by the Company in the determination of the economic and foreign policy of England, and they had only a hazy notion of the financial condition, and the constitutional groundwork, of that institution. This was due partly to their reliance upon the documents in the India Office Record Department. As explained above, the data at our disposal are insufficient, and we must go to the Public Record Office, for an exhaustive account of its negotiations with foreign powers, to the British Museum, for filling gaps in our knowledge of some valuable manuscripts, and for estimating the influence of the East India Trade on the economic theories of the period, to the Bodleian Library, for a thorough knowledge of the essential documents on the conflict of the two Companies, and to the manuscripts of the House of Lords and other sources for a detailed account of the various phases through which that conflict passed. The history of the Company must be studied in all its aspects — political, economic, constitutional, and administrative. For the seventeenth century is the meeting place of Politics and Economics, of the strong tide of triumphant Nationalism, and of the stronger tide of militant Commerce. The product of the two is Mercantilism, the steady pursuit of commercial supremacy through the organised powers of the State. The importance of the East India Trade lies mainly in the light it throws on the genesis of this theory, and in the explanation it affords of the many inconsistencies of this doctrine.

There was no discussion on this paper

The responsibility of the Emperor Jahangir for the death of Sher Afgan, the first husband of Nur Jahan Begam¹

(By Beni Prasad, M.A., Assistant Professor of Modern Indian History, University of Allahabad)

No figure in medieval Indian History is shrouded in such romance as the name of Nur Jahan calls to the mind. It has been generally supposed that she was exposed by her indigent parents on the day of her birth at Qandahar *en route* to India, that she was saved by the kindly leader of their caravan, that as a young girl, she captured the heart of Prince Salim, but that she was married at the instance of Akbar and to the chagrin of the prince, to a Persian youth, Sher Afgan, that Salim, on his accession to the throne in 1605, tried various expedients to get rid of Sher and ultimately had him slain through his agent Qutbuddin Khan, that the high-spirited lady long refused to marry the murderer of her husband but that she consented after four years and thenceforward exercised boundless sway over the Emperor and the Empire²

Sober history unfolds a tale lacking in such picturesque romance but full of human interest. Khwaja Muhammad Sharif, grandfather of Nur Jahan, was the Vizir of Tatar Sultan Beglar Begi of Khorasan, a province of Persia. On his patron's death, he retained the same office under his son and successor, Qazaq Khan. On the latter's demise, he was transferred by Shah Tahmasp to hold the high post of vizir of Yazd. He died in the year 1577 and his family fell under evil stars. His son Mirza Ghayyasuddin Muhammad, commonly known as Ghayyas Beg, soon found his lot intolerable in his native country and resolved to migrate to Hindustan. Along with his two sons Muhammad Sharif and Abul Hasan, his daughter and his pregnant wife, he set out under the protection of a caravan led by a merchant prince named Malik Masud. So perilous was the route from Persia to India that even the large company proved no guarantee of security of life and property. Ghayyas Beg had not traversed half the distance when he lost the bulk of his little herd and all his mules save two. At Qandahar, his wife gave birth to a daughter. The position to provide for the tending mother. Then sad plight attracted hearted Malik Masud who more than relieved their wretched the sterling worth of Ghayyas Beg. A friendship sprang

¹ Jahangir was the title assumed by Prince Salim on his accession after Akbar. Nur Jahan was the title given to Mihrunnisa, the Empress Jahangir. Sher Afgan was the title given by Salim to Nur Jahan Begam.

² Dow, *History of Hindostan*, III, pages 19-33. Latif, *History*

men. On reaching India, Malik Masud presented his friend to the Emperor Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri. He was readily admitted into the Imperial Service.

Mirza Ghiyas Beg to whom the accident of a daughter's birth had thus served to open a new career, was a man of learning and culture, a charming letter-writer, a brilliant conversationalist. He was always remarkable for his self-control. "Chains, the whip and abuse were not found in his house." Avarice forms the chief blemish on his character but he was kind and even generous. He had a passion for work, order and method. All his life he was admired for his diligence and pains. He rose steadily in rank and influence. By 1595 he held a mansab of 300 and the important office of Diwan of Kabul.¹

Meanwhile, Mihrunnisa, as the child born at Qandahar was called, grew up a charming accomplished lass. About the age of 17 she was married to a young Persian adventurer named Ali Quli Istajlu.

Ali Quli had been a safarchi, a table-attendant of Shah Ismail II of Persia (1576-78). On the death or murder of his master, he had to fly from the country. A long course of wanderings and adventures brought him *via* Qandahar to Multan where he joined the ranks of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan then on his way, at the head of a large force, to conquer Thatta. During the ensuing campaign, Ali Quli greatly distinguished himself by his valour, courage and intrepidity. He attracted the eye of the general who mentioned him in despatches and procured him a mansab. On the triumphant conclusion of the war, the Khan Khanan took Ali Quli with him to Lahore, then the headquarters of the Imperial Government, and introduced him into high circles, in the year 1594. Shortly after he was married to the daughter of Ghiyas Beg. In the year 1599 he was placed on the staff of Prince Salim who was deputed by Akbar to a campaign against Mewar. Ali Quli's courage and skill

Mirza Mihrunnisa,
placed on the staff of Prince
Salim styled Sher Afgan

¹ Iqbalnama 54-5 E & D VI 403-4 K K I 263 5, M U I 127 Blochmann 508-12 Latif's, Agra 28 9, half mythical Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, page 165 Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, Ch V

The title of Mirza, at first confined to scions of royal families, was extended to others during the 16th century. It implies the idea of a perfect gentleman. See the Mirzanamah of Mirza Kamran edited and translated into English by Maulvi M. Hidayat Husain, I. A. S. B., new series, Volume IX, 1918, pages 1-18. The first chapter deals with the main rules and the second with the secondary rules of the code of Mirzaship. Khafi Khan (I 264) writing in the 18th century, says that on her birth, Nur Jahan was exposed by her indigent parents on the roads at night, and picked up next morning by Malik Masud who, struck by her beauty, resolved to bring her up and appointed her own mother to be her nurse. This version adopted by Elphinstone (History of India, edited by Cowell, page 554) has found its way into all current books on Indian History. The contemporary writers, however, know nothing of the story. If the infant would be exposed at all, it would be exposed, not on the road, but in some out-of-the-way place. The exposure itself is entirely inconsistent with Ghiyas Beg's character. The story was invented, like so many others, to darken the background against Nur Jahan's later brilliant career. Khafi Khan (I 264 5) also relates a characteristic story of Ghiyas Beg's introduction to Akbar. The emperor remarked to Malik Masud that he had not brought such fine presents that year as previously. The Malik replied that he had brought a few living presents such as had never come from Turan or Iran. Then he introduced Ghiyas and his son to the emperor.

For Shah Ismail II, see Sykes' History of Persia II, pages 253-54. Also Malcolm, History of Persia.

in killing a tiger won him the title of Sher Afgan (tiger-thrower) at the hands of the prince, who was mightily pleased with him. He followed his patron in his

revolt for a while but then deserted to Akbar. On his accession Jahangir had the generosity to overlook his behaviour and grant him an office and a jagir in Burdawan in Bengal¹

Bengal was then the hot-bed of sedition, conspiracy and revolt, the asylum of all the disaffected spirits. Sher Afgan was suspected of suspected of disloyalty complicity in treason. The Governor Qutbuddin Khan who had succeeded Raja Man Singh in August 1606, was authorised to send him to court and in case of disobedience to bring him to punishment. In March 1607, Qutbuddin left for Burdawan and summoned Sher Afgan to an interview, most probably to arrest him, on the 30th of March.

Sher Afgan accompanied by only two grooms, came out to meet the Governor. As he entered the camp, he was ordered to be surrounded on all sides by the Mughal troops. His blood was up, he realised the impending danger, the treachery roused his rage. "What proceeding is this of thine?" he demanded of Qutbuddin. The latter advanced to explain the matter. Sher Afgan, out of temper as he was, drew his sword and struck the Governor. The bowels gushed out but the valiant stout man held them in his hand and commanded his men to despatch the assailant.

The command was needless. Amba Khan, a Kashmiri retainer, had already struck Sher Afgan on the head, though he had received a fatal blow in return. The

lonely man was assailed on all sides and literally cut to pieces. But he had had his revenge. Amba Khan died on the spot while Qutbuddin Khan breathed his last within twelve hours². Qutbuddin's death deeply affected Jahangir, words failed him to express his sorrow at the tragic end of a kind brother and a congenial friend. He heaps curses on Sher Afgan and consigns him to eternal damnation³.

Sher Afgan's widow and daughter named Ladli Begam were sent to Court where Itimaduddaulah held high office. Mihrunnisa was soon after appointed a lady-in-waiting to the Dowager Empress, Sultan Salma Begam. In March 1611, Jahangir happened to see her at the vernal fancy bazar, fell in love with her and married her towards the close of May 1611⁴.

¹ For Sher Afgan see Jahangir (R & B) I 113-14. Iqbalnama 55 E & D VI 404.

K K I 265-6, M U I 130, III 622-5. Gladwin 14-15.

Blochmann 524. Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, page 380.

² Jahangir (R & B) I 113-15. Iqbalnama 23-4. K K I 266-7. Khulasatut Tawarikh (Delhi edition) 446-7. Miftahut Tawarikh 214. Gladwin 15. Blochmann 496-97, 524-5.

The name of Sher Afgan's first assailant is variously mentioned. Jahangir calls him Amba Khan, Motamad Khan calls him Pir Khan while Kamghar calls him Amate Khan. Sher Afgan's margined remains were interred at Burdawan. For the tomb which still stands, see Maulvi Abdul Wali's Antiquities of Burdawan, Traditions, etc., and Sher Afgan's tomb, J A S B, new series, Volume XIII, 1917, pages 184-86.

³ Jahangir (R & B) I 114-15. Iqbalnama 55. K K I 267.

⁴ Iqbalnama 56. Muasiri Jahangiri (Khuda Baksh MS) 76 (a).

Such is the real story of the celebrated and momentous marriage. The received version that Jahangir fell in love with her during the life-time of Akbar, that the latter refused to gratify his wishes and induced Mirza Ghiyas to marry her to Sher Afgan, that the disappointed lover, immediately on his accession to power, basely contrived the death of his more successful rival, that the high-souled Mihrunnisa indignantly rejected the overtures of her husband's murderer for four years but that she yielded at last—all this finds absolutely no support in the contemporary authorities. It is, of course, true that Jahangir would confess no guilt of such dark dye, but if he had really had a hand in Sher Afgan's death, he would probably have not referred to the matter at all. As a matter of fact, he gives a circumstantial narrative of Sher Afgan's life and death. Motamad Khan completed his history during the reign of Shah Jahan, Kamghar Husaini's work was inspired by Shah Jahan. Both were hostile to Nur Jahan, the great rival of their patron, yet neither lets fall a hint which would connect her life with a deep scandal. Abdul Hamid Lahori and other historians of Shah Jahan's reign refer to Nur Jahan but don't hint that she married the murderer of her first husband. It may be argued, indeed, that no Court historian would dare to refer to a scandal dishonourable to the whole dynasty but no such partiality can be attributed to the contemporary foreign visitors. On the contrary, they revelled in scandal, they were only too ready to credit and record any rumour which reflected on the moral character of high personages. They describe a licentious scandal between Jahangir (then Prince Salim) and his step-mother. They hint at a similar scandal between Nur Jahan and her step-son Shah Jahan. But none of them even suspects that Jahangir murdered Sher Afgan for the sake of his early love. They refer to Nur Jahan's early life, to her husband's violent death, to her marriage with Jahangir, to her vast influence over him but they do not even insinuate any early love between them or any share of the second husband in the 'murder' of the first. Hawkins, enjoying the inestimable advantage of a knowledge of Turkish, arrived at the Mughal Court sometime after Sher Afgan's death, received admittance into the rank of Mansabdars, formed numerous acquaintances and left Agra sometime after Jahangir's marriage with Nur Jahan. Sir Thomas Roe and Edward Terry lived for several years at the Mughal Court when Nur Jahan was at the height of her power and was the subject of universal talk. William Finch, an acute observer, found himself in India about the same time. Pietro della Valle confined his travels to the western coast but heard much of events in the interior during Jahangir's reign. It is inconceivable that every one of them would fail to learn of Jahangir's guilt, if he were really guilty, in the Sher Afgan affair. Scandal of this nature always spreads like wild fire. Scandal of this nature relating to an Emperor and an Empress coupled with an atrocious murder would reach every

The received version of the story

Unsupported by contemporary testimony

The decisive negative evidence of European travellers

home and could not possibly escape evils which were only too wide open to receive it. During the reign of Jahangir, the East India Factors wrote hundreds of letters to their principals in England. While mainly concerned with their commercial transactions, they frequently allude to interesting and important political events. They give a circumstantial narrative of Khusrav's death, of Shah Jahan's revolt, of Mohabat Khan's *coup de main* but nowhere ascribe Sher Afgan's death to Jahangir's lust for his wife. Sir Thomas Herbert came to India just at the close of Jahangir's reign and Peter Mundy a few years later. Both of them have much to say about Jahangir and Nur Jahan but neither has a word about any scandal in the circumstances of their marriage. Bernier came a generation later and mixed largely with high personages at the court. He records unspeakable rumours about Shah Jahan, Jahanaara, Raushanara and others. He speaks of Jahangir and Nur Jahan and of the latter's ascendancy but does not refer at all to the Sher Afgan scandal¹.

There is, indeed, no contemporary writer at all who charges Jahangir with Inconsistencies with facts the murder of Sher Afgan. Negative testimony of and probabilities this nature is in itself conclusive on the point but further the story is inconsistent with certain known facts and probabilities. In the first place, we can hardly think of any motive which would

¹ Terry (Voyage to East India, page 404) only says that Jahangir took Nur Jahan out of the dust from a very mean family.

Sir Thomas Roe is silent about Sher Afgan.

P. della Valle, who travelled in 1623-24 along the western coast of India, heard much about Nur Jahan, but strange as it may appear, was not able to know the manner of her marriage with the emperor. "She was born in India," he writes, "but of Persian race, that is the Daughter of a Persian, who coming as many do into India, to the service of the Moghols happened in time to prove a very great man in this court, and, (if I mistake not) Chan or Viceroy of a Province. She was formerly Wife in India to another Persian Captain, who serv'd the Moghols too, but, after her Husband's death, a fair opportunity being offer'd, as it falls out many times to some handsome young Widows I know not how, Sciah Selim had notice of her, and became in love with her" (Travels of P. della Valle I, 53). It will be noticed that this account contains several inaccuracies and betrays total ignorance of the circumstances connected with Sher Afgan's death.

Pietro della Valle records a bazar fable connected with the marriage. "He (Jahangir) would have carried her (Nur Jahan) into his Haram but the very cunning and ambitious Woman counterfeited great honesty to the King and refus'd to go into his Palace, and, as I believe, also to comply with his desires, saying that she had been the Wife of an Honourable Captain and Daughter of an Honourable Father, and should never wrong her own Honour, nor that of her Father and Husband, and that to go to the King's Haram and live like one of the other female slaves there, was unsuitable to her noble condition. Wherefore if his Majesty had a fancy to her he might take her for his lawful Wife, whereby his Honour would be not only not injur'd, but highly enlarg'd, and on this condition she was at his service. Sciah Selim so disdain'd this haughty Motion at first that he had almost resolv'd in despite to give her in Marriage to one of the Race which they call *Halalchor* as much as to say Eater-at-large, that is to whom it is lawful to eat everything, and for this cause they are accounted the most despicable people in India. However, the Woman persisting in her first resolution, intending rather to die than alter it, and Love returning to make impetuous assaults on the King's Heart, with the help, too, as some say, of Sorceries practis'd by her upon him, if there were any other charms (as I believe there were not) besides the conditions of the Woman, which became lovely to the King by sympathy, at length he determin'd to receive her for his lawful Wife and Queen above all the rest" (Della Valle's Travels I, pages 53-54).

Peter Mundy who travelled in India in 1629-34 reproduced a nasty gossiping account according to which the Amir, her husband "being in Rebellion was slain in bataille where shee also was taken prisoner, as they say, on an Elephant fighting" and encourageinge whoe being brought before the King and shewing herself somewhat haughtie and stomakefull, it is reported hee commanded shee should be carryed to the Common Stewes, there to be abused by the baser sorte but this was not put in execution" (Travels II, 205-6).

Francois Bernier refers to Nur Jahan's extraordinary domination over Jahangir but has nothing to say about her antecedents. (*P. de Travels*, page 5).

prompt Akbar to forbid a marriage between Mihrunnisa and Salim. The former came of a distinguished Persian stock, her father held a high place at the court. The Mughals were not over-scrupulous about plebeian alliances and here was a true patrician alliance. If Akbar really disappointed and chagrined his son and insisted on Ghiyas Beg bestowing his daughter's hand on Sher Afgan, he would hardly be so unwise as to place the latter in attendance on Prince Salim in 1599. Then Salim would certainly not honour and entitle the husband of his beloved. On his accession to the throne, he would hardly overlook his desertion and go out of his way to promote and enrich him. If he wanted his wife, he would hardly proceed in the tactless manner which he is alleged to have followed. Lastly, our knowledge of Nur Jahan's character may warrant the inference that if she knew Jahangir to be stained with her husband's innocent blood, she would never have consented to share his bed, would never have agreed to serve his mother. It is admitted on all hands that Nur Jahan fully reciprocated Jahangir's affection during their married life. A high-souled lady is hardly likely to bestow such love and devotion on her husband's murderer.

It has been assumed by many writers that Qutbuddin was appointed to Bengal with the sole object of procuring Mihrunnisa for his master. There is absolutely no warrant for the opinion. A complete rupture had already taken place between Raja Man Singh and the Emperor. The former had exerted all his mighty influence to supersede the latter by Prince Khushian and had very nearly succeeded. He had planned a treacherous arrest of Prince Salim and had very nearly succeeded. He had been the cause of the suicide of the Prince's favourite wife, Shah Begam. They had gone through the forms of a reconciliation on the morrow of Akbar's death but their hearts were hopelessly estranged. It was only a question of time when Man Singh, like his confederate Aziz Koka, should be deprived of the governorship of Bengal. It was certain that he would be succeeded by one of the Emperor's creatures. Qutbuddin was selected for the post. The suspicion of disloyalty thrown on Sher Afgan may have been unjust but there is nothing strange about it. Bengal was a focus of intrigue, treason and rebellion. Usman had led a formidable revolt shortly before and was to lead another still more formidable shortly after. The atmosphere was charged with electricity and the storm might break any moment. The utmost vigilance and precaution were needed. No wonder that a Persian adventurer who had once deserted Prince Salim, was suspected of treason and was sought to be removed from the centre of disaffection. The unfortunate affray which cost several lives was due to a tactless blunder on the part of Qutbuddin Khan. He ordered Sher Afgan to be surrounded by soldiers without a warning and roused his rage. It was only natural that after her husband's death Mihrunnisa should be removed to the Court where her father and brother held employments. There is nothing strange on this hypothesis in her acting as an attendant to Maryam-uz-zamani, in her catching the eye of the Emperor in a fancy bazar and in being wedded to him.

It was nearly two generations later that a systematic romance began to be created. Once Jahangir was charged with coveting the wife of Sher Afgan it was necessary to assume that he had fallen in love with her during the lifetime of his father. Muhammad Sadiq Tabarezi is followed and improved upon by Khafi Khan, Sujan Rai and others who relate how the prince and Mihrunnisa would play together, how he once clasped her to his bosom in a rapture of love, how she freed herself from his arms and complained to the royal ladies, how they told the tale to Akbar who deeply incensed, refused to gratify the prince's longing for his sweet-heart, how Jahangir asked Qutbuddin to procure his early love for him, how Sher Afgan got an inkling into the designs, resigned and retired to his jagir, how on the day of the fatal interview, he was pressed by his mother to make the mother of his adversary weep before she herself was to weep, how Sher Afgan escaped with a spark of life from the blows of his enemies, dragged himself to his door to despatch his wife but was told by his mother-in-law that she had committed suicide and that he must dress his wounds outside, and finally, how he instantly gave up the ghost in peace¹. The romance soon spread far and wide. We find it nowhere in the earlier half of the 17th century, we find it everywhere in the records of the subsequent generations. The Persian historians relate it with circumstantial details. The Rajput bards vouchsafe its truth². The Italian traveller Manucci, writing towards the close of the century, further embellished the romance³.

During the 18th century, it was transformed almost beyond recognition and related with all the colour and vivacity of a dramatic plot by Dow and others. In the 19th century Elphinstone adopted the version of Khafi Khan and transmitted it to all the subsequent manuals of Indian History which draw mainly on him.

But an attentive study of the contemporary authorities and of the well-established facts themselves knocks the bottom out of the whole romance and the character both of Jahangir and Nur Jahan appears in a truer and more favourable light.

There was no discussion on this paper.

A Letter from Nadir Shah to Zakariya Khan, the Governor of Lahore and Multan

(By Maulavi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Assistant Superintendent of Archaeology)

The Delhi Museum of Archaeology possesses a large number of very interesting Mughal official documents comprising *Faimans*, *Manshurs*, *Sanads*, *Parwanas* etc. and among them is a letter from Nadir Shah to Zakariya Khan, the Governor of Lahore and Multan, which I have selected for the subject of this paper. It is

¹ K. K. I. 265-67. *Khulasat-ut Tawarikh* (Delhi edition) 445-47. Blochmann 498-7, 524-5.

² The Rajput Khyat of Phalodi quoted by L. P. Tessitori in the *Boric and Historical Survey of Rajputana*, J. A. S. B., Vol. XV, 1919, No. I, pp. 56-58.

³ Manucci (ed. Irvine) I, 161-2.

dated 21st Jumadi-s-Sani of the year 1152 A.H (25th September 1739 A.D) and bears the seal impression of Nadir Shah, and a *Tughra* mark which is illegible and cannot be deciphered with certainty. On the margin is an endorsement like a memorandum to the effect that it is a letter from Nadir Shah marked with his seal impression and received by Nawab Sahib Saifu-d-Daulah Bahadur Diler Jang in the year 1152 A.H

The letter was written by Nadir Shah about a month after his return from India. He expresses therein his intention of invading the territories of Khuda Yar Khan Abbasi and directs Zakariya Khan to move from Lahore towards Multan in order to stop fugitives from crossing the river Indus and taking refuge in that province. It is also to be found copied in Tazkara-i-Anand Ram Mukhlis (pages 51—2), an extract from which together with a translation of the letter has been given by Sir Henry Elliot in his well-known work "The History of India as told by its own historians" (Volume VIII, pages 76—98). The Tazkara is a historical work, dealing with the chronicles of the last twelve years of the reign of Muhammad Shah 1150—1161 A.H (1736—1748 A.D). It is an unprinted work, and is very rare, one manuscript copy of it being in my possession and another in the library of the Aligarh University. The Aligarh copy originally belonged to Nawab Ziaur-d-Din Khan of Loharu, and is the same which was used by Sir Henry Elliot in making extracts for his work.

Anand Ram Mukhlis, the author of the Tazkara, was the *Wakil* or agent of Zakariya Khan at the Royal Court in Delhi. He was an eye-witness of many of the events which happened during the stay of Nadir Shah at Delhi, having suffered personally from his exactions, and he has given a very interesting and graphic account of the sack of Delhi by the Persians. It is in connection with the same account that he notices this letter. He also quotes a royal mandate or *Farman* of the emperor Muhammad Shah addressed to Zakariya Khan granting him permission to comply with the directions of Nadir Shah.¹ We learn from this *Farman* that Zakariya Khan submitted Nadir Shah's letter with an application to the royal court asking for permission to carry out the Shah's orders, and it was in reply to his application that the *Farman* was issued. Zakariya Khan had been in special favour with Nadir Shah, who on his departure from India had recommended him to the emperor Muhammad Shah to raise his rank from seven to eight thousand, and had himself placed all the territories east of the river Attock (Indus), which had been detached from the Mughal empire and taken possession of by Nadir Shah, under his charge, subject to an annual payment of twenty *lacs* of rupees.² Copies of the *Farman*s issued to this effect by Nadir Shah in favour of the Khan are also preserved in the Tazkara (pages 49-50). Thus Zakariya Khan was partly in the service of Nadir Shah, and it was probably on this ground that the latter addressed him directly instead of through the emperor Muhammad Shah. But the fact, that the Khan before taking any action in the matter formally secured the permission

¹ Tazkara-i-Anand Ram Mukhlis, manuscript copy in possession of the author, pages 52-3.

² Tazkara-i-Anand Ram Mukhlis, page 48.

of his master, the Delhi Emperor, is indicative of a regular procedure which was apparently observed with strictness by the Mughal government even in those days of misrule and anarchy.

The letter of Nadir Shah runs as follows —

Seal impression

بنام دولت و دین رفته بود حور ار حا

بنام نادر ایران قرار داد حداد

آنکه عالیه عمده الحرایین العظام رکریا خان ناظم صوبه لاهور و ملتان مستقر
 ارحد امور حدیوانه سرافراز گشته دادند که حور مطمح نظر اقدس آنست که امسال
 در ممالک سند قشلاقی شده تدبیر بعضی از اشرار بعمل آید و احتمال دارد که احدی
 از انجمن اسم ملتان فرار نماید و عذر افواج فاعره کاصحاب الدین از آب سند
 بعزم تعاقب و گوشمال موهیم ایصال حسارت بممالک سلطانی است از آنجا که
 می ماین این در دولت عظمی و دو شرکت کردی حدایی متصور نیست می باید
 که آن عالیه مهیا و مستعد باشد که هرگاه ضرورت شود و حکم محمدن عرصدر یابد از سمت
 لاهور متوجه ملتان گسند دران نواحی توقف و از سر راه فراریاں حذر دار دوده اگر کسی
 از آب سند بحدود هند بگذرد مایع شده تندید نماید و درعی شود که محتاج بعذر و
 تعاقب سپاه منصور بشود عواطف شاهنشاهی را شامل حال حور دانسته حاجات و
 ملتسمائی که داشته باشد از روی امیدواری عرصداشت بپایه سربراعلی نماید و در
 عهد شناسد - تحریراً فی التاریخ [سنه و یکم] حمادی الثانی سنه ۱۱۵۲

Marginal endorsement—

وعم مکرم محترم مرین مهره ساء شاهنشاه وملك نارگاه نادر شاه است که بنام

نامی نواب صاحب سیف الدوله رکریا خان نادر دلیر جنگ ورور یافته در سنه ۱۱۵۲

Translation.

(Seal impression) "As the seal¹ (authority) of government and religion was disturbed, God re-established it with the name of Nadir of Iran"

"The exalted and most noble of Khans, Zakariya Khan, the Governor of Lahore and Multan, having the honour of unlimited royal favour should know that, whereas it is the royal intention to pass the winter season this year in the country of Sind in order to chastise certain rebels, and whereas it is deemed probable that some of them might fly towards Multan, and the crossing of the river Indus by the victorious army comprising of religious men in their pursuit be regarded as trespass

¹ *Nagin*, literally meaning seal, is the symbol of royalty

on the dominion of the Sultan, and whereas there exists perfect concord between these two great powers and mighty governments (government of the Mughal emperor and Nadir Shah), it is necessary that that illustrious noble should get himself ready to move from Lahore to Multan immediately when his services are required and he is honoured with a fresh order, and staying there should guard the approaches of the fugitives. If any of them cross the river Indus and enter the boundaries of Hindustan he should stop them and punish them, so that the victorious army may not have the occasion to cross the river and pursue them. Resting assured of the royal favour, he should submit all his requests to the sublime court, and consider this as imperative. Written on the [21st Jumadi-us-Sani] of the year 1152 "

(Marginal endorsement) " This dignified and honoured writing adorned with the sun-like seal is from the emperor Nadir Shah whose court is high as heaven and received by the renowned Nawab Sahib Saifu-d-Daulah Zakariya Khan Bahadur Diler Jang in the year 1152 ".

Khuda Yar Khan Abbasi whose real name was Nur Muhammad, belonged to a family tracing their descent from Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet. His ancestors originally led the life of *darrishes* or saints in Sindh, but gradually attained power, until his father Yar Muhammad received the title of Khuda Yar Khan and some rank during the reign of the emperor Farrukhsiyar. On the death of his father he succeeded to his rank and title, and extended his territories by subduing the neighbouring Zamindars of the Daud Potra tribe. In the year 1143 A H (1730-1 A D) the rank of five thousand was conferred upon him by the emperor Muhammad Shah, and some six years later he was granted the governorship of the Province of Thatta and the *Sarkar* of Bhakkar. When Nadir Shah marched to India he wrote to Khuda Yar Khan Abbasi (Nur Muhammad) asking him to allow his army to pass through his territories. Khuda Yar Khan did not agree to this. He blocked all the passes leading to his country and thus incurred the displeasure of Nadir Shah, who was obliged to come to India through Kabul. After settling the affairs of India, Nadir Shah decided to chastise Khuda Yar Khan, and it was in this connection that he wrote this letter to Zakariya Khan. Hearing the news of the advance of Nadir Shah, Khuda Yar Khan left his son in command of his troops, and withdrew himself with his women and treasure including twenty-two lacs of rupees from his capital, Khuda Abad, to the fortress of Amarkot. On the arrival of the Shah's army the son gave up all idea of fighting and prepared to do homage on condition that his father should not be required to appear, but these terms were not acceded to, and the youth was made prisoner. Nadir Shah made a rapid march of thirty kos (nearly sixty miles) from Ladgaon to Amarkot and laid siege to the fortress before Khuda Yar Khan could get a chance of escape with his treasure. The latter had no recourse but to sue for mercy. The Shah seized the twenty-two lacs of rupees and some jewels, and returned with Khuda Yar Khan to his camp at Ladgaon. Zakariya Khan who had marched from Lahore to assist the Shah in this campaign met him here and was received with great courtesy and respect. Khuda Yar Khan, since his submission, had remained in the camp of Nadir Shah. It is related that the Shah asked him angrily why he was flying

from him Khuda Yar Khan in reply said, "I have been a hereditary servant of the king of India, and had I made homage to you, you also would have no confidence in me."

Nadir Shah re-established Khuda Yar Khan in possession of his Zamindari and his governorship of the province of Thatta, and conferred upon him the title of Shah Quli Khan, the condition of this arrangement being that Khuda Yar Khan should provide the Persian monarch with a contingent of two thousand horse under one of his sons and pay an annual tribute of ten *lacs* of rupees¹ The author of *Maasiru-l-Umara* (Volume I, page 839) says that the territories of Khuda Yar Khan were parcelled out into three portions, one of which was left to him while the remaining two were given to the tribe of Daud Potra and the Zamindars of Bhakkar respectively

There was no discussion on this paper.

The Jats and the Importance of their History.

(By K R Qanungo, M A, Professor, Ramjas College, Delhi)

The Jâts are a tribe so wide spread and numerous as to be almost a nation in itself, counting 7,036,100 souls having community of blood, community of language, common tradition, and also a common religion for not less than 1,500 years At the Census of 1901, one-third of the population bearing this name are Muslims, one-fifth Sikhs, and about one-half Brahmanical Hindus (*Ency of Indo-Aryan Research*, Volume II, Part 5, page 43) They are found in large numbers in the Punjab, Sindh Rajputana and in some parts of the Gangetic Doab There is also a sprinkling of Jât population in Peshawar, Baluchistan and to the west of the Sulaiman range Tall, fair, large limbed, with regular features, prominent nose, and expanding eyes, he belongs to the same ethnic group as the Rajput and the Turk. In character he resembles the old Anglo-Saxon, and has indeed more of the Teuton than of the Celt in him He is tough, slow, unimaginative, lacking brilliance but possessed of great solidity, dogged perseverance, with an eminently practical turn of mind. He is hardly convinced by words without concrete facts Self-interest is his only criterion of judgment If he listens to the Arya-Samaj more favourably, it is not for its purer doctrines or higher philosophy, but for its promise of exemption from *śrādh* ceremony, and other expensive Brahmanical rites Old country side proverb (in Karnal district) goes that book-learning is unpropitious to the Jât পড়ে হুবে জাট বোঁল বিগুনে আট, that is, a Jât loses half his worth by trying to become learned! Sturdy independence, and vigorous labour are his strong characteristics as Ibbetson says. To this is added quarrelsomeness The Jât always requires somebody to quarrel with "a Jât is good only when he is bound" Another trait of Jât character which has been marked by eminent authorities is his strong individualism "The Jât is of all the Punjab races the most impatient of

¹ *Tazkara*, pages 54-6, *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Volume I, pages 825-9, *Elliot's History of India*, Volume VIII, pages 97-8

tribal or communal control, and the one which asserts the individual most strongly" (Ibbetson, quoted in Rose's *Punjab Glossary*, Volume II, page 366) Irvine remarks "In the Government of their villages, they appear much more democratic than the Rajput, they have less reverence for hereditary right and a preference for elected head-man" (*Later Mughals*, Volume I, page 83). The Jâts may quarrel among themselves, but when it is a question of tribal honour, or a dispute with other castes, they readily combine. Clannish feeling like that of the men of the age of *Mahabharat* is still very strong. With his democratic ideas of government, strong tribal ties, and preserving in unbroken tradition the practice of marrying elder brother's widow, and of *नियोग* [Neyoga] i.e. raising issue by another man after husband's death, the Jât, though considered as a Sudra by the orthodox, seems to be the truer representative of the Vedic Arya than any Hindu of the higher castes.

The origin of this interesting people, is enveloped in the mist of obscurity which the light of scientific research has yet to dispel. Dr Trumpp and Beams very strongly claim a pure Indo-Aryan descent for them on the consideration of physical type and language which is a pure dialect of Hindi without slightest trace of the Scythian origin (Elliot's *Memours of the Races*, Volume I, pages 135-137). But both these authorities were out and out philologists who are not to be trusted implicitly in ethnological questions. Language is no test of race as has been pointed out by A. M. T. Jackson (*Ind Ant*, 1910, Volume 39, page 65), and also by V. Smith (*Ancient India*, page 12). We find no mention of the Jâts in ancient Sanskrit Literature unless we are prepared to accept the identification of the Jaratrikas—mentioned in the *Mahabharat* along with the *Mudra-rakshasa* (Canto VIII, Slokas 2032, 2034)—with the Jâts as suggested by no less eminent an authority than Grierson (*Ind Ant*, 1914, Volume 43, page 146), and also by James Campbell (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume IX, Part I, page 461). Grierson also expresses a doubt whether the *Jatásuras*—not a demon as in popular myth but name of a western tribe mentioned by the famous astronomer *Brahma-Mihira*—were not the Jâts (*Ind Ant* Volume 43, page 462). *Bishnu Puran* (Wilson's ed. page 192) mentions Dahas as a western tribe, whom both Elliot and Ibbetson are inclined to identify with the Dahae of Alexander and the modern *Dahiya Jâts* inhabiting *Sonepat Tahasil* of *Rohtak*.

However, competent authorities agree on the point that the Jâts are of Indo-Scythian stock. But they differ in their opinion as to what particular horde they belong. V. Smith says "When the numerous *Bálá*, Indo-Scythian, Gujar and Huna tribes of 6th century horde settled, the leading military and princely houses were accepted as Rajput, while those who frankly took to agriculture became Jât" (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1899, page 534). This cannot be true without modification. There is unassailable evidence of the existence of a Jât or Jit ruling dynasty as old as 400 A. D. (*Tod's Rajasthan*, App I, pages 747-749). Moreover the traditional enmity between the Rajput and the Jât makes it extremely probable that they belonged to different hordes, entering India at different times. We

everywhere find the earlier Ját occupant of the soil ousted by the new Rajput emigrants. The Yadu Bhattis conquered Jaisalmer from the Ját and the Rathor wrested Bikaner from him. The Pramar displaced him in Malwa and Tunwar snatched away Delhi. In this connection we may suggest a different origin of the name of this city of Delhi than that assigned by popular tradition, *viz*, that the Brahmins of Anangapal once fixed a pillar, which they declared to have stood on the hood of *Shesh Naga*, and that he, out of curiosity, ordered it to be dug out but when he tried to fix it again, it remained *dhilla* or loose. This is grotesque enough to capture uncultured imagination. Apart from this, we see the Delhi district still largely inhabited by a Jat tribe called *Dhillon* or *Dhillhon*. Folk etymology connects the name with *dhilla* or *lazy* (Rose's *Glossary*, Volume II, pages 237-238). Anangapal Tunwar might have conquered this territory from the Dhillons, and founded the city. Building of the city cannot be credited to the Ját because they have always been an essentially rural folk. This city perhaps takes its name from the tract of country around, *i e*, Dhilli or the abode of lazy people.

As regards the origin of the Jats, earlier authorities namely Elliot (*Memoirs of the Races*, Volume I, page 135), A. M. T. Jackson (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume I, Part I, page 2), James M. Campbell (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume IX, Part I, page 461) who identify them with Kushan or Yuechi horde, whose greatest representative was Kanishka, seem to be right beyond dispute. The Rajputs represent perhaps the White Huns of Sixth century A. D. or later Turkish horde who developed into a noble race by entering the fold of Hinduism, as in Europe Christianity and French civilisation transformed the descendants of fierce Danes and Norsemen into the great Norman race, the finest product of Medieval Europe.

In history the Ját is quite familiar as an industrious husbandman, a notorious cattle-lifter and a stout fighter. Where circumstances permitted, he equally distinguished himself as a bold pirate too. The Jat pirates of Dwarka and Porbander in the 7th century made their name a terror to the merchants of the Arabian Sea (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume IX, Appendix B, page 527). The rise of the Ját as a political power begins with the revolt of the Hindu Ját of Mathura (1669 A. D.) in the reign of Aurangzib. This was not an isolated phenomenon but only one flare of the general conflagration kindled by religious persecution from the Punjab to Maharashtra. Iswar Das Nagor describes the serious nature of the revolt and the heroism of Gokla and Rajah Ram. The latter committed an unpardonable act of sacrilege by sacking Akbar's tomb at Sikandria. He remained unsubdued till his death (Iswar Das, Professor Sarkar's *Ms* page 53a following and 131b). Bhajja Singh of Sansani, the founder of the present ruling house of Bharatpur next assumed the leadership of the Ját (Irvine's *Later Mughals*, Volume I, page 322). He was succeeded by his son Churaman, whose career was a long and eventful one. He was granted the rank of 1,500 *Zat*, 500 horse, by Bahadur Shah. Farrukhsiyar thought of subduing him and appointed Raja Sawai Jai Singh to the command. Nothing came out of it and the Emperor had to be satisfied with a fine and lip-allegiance on the part of the rebel. Churaman made the Ját power a political factor to be reckoned with. We do not hear much about his

younger brother and successor Budan Singh Waqia-i-Shah-Alam Sanī (Professor Sarkar's Ms) gives Ramzan 9, 1169 A H, as the date of his death Suraj Mal seems to have assumed the direction of affairs during the life-time of his father. He was one of the greatest figures of his times—great both in war and diplomacy—whose memory deserves to be rescued from oblivion. Under him the Jāts spread beyond the Jamuna, and fought as mercenaries of Saifdal Jang, who granted the whole of Mewat to him as reward of his services. We light upon unexpected wealth of information about Suraj Mal and his successors in the Waqia-i-Shah-Alam Sanī, Ibratnama of Khairuddin Allahabadi and Shah Alamnama (ed. A. S. B.). The story of Ahmad Shah Abdali's bloody campaign against the Jāts is told in great detail and with accuracy in a fragmentary Ms translated by Irvine (*Ind. Ant* 1907, Volume 36, page 46, following). Suraj Mal and Malhar Rao were intimate associates, though for sometime Malhar Rao fought against Suraj Mal as an ally of Imād-ul-Mulk. Mr Burway's life of first Malhar Rao which was reported to be in preparation by Indore representatives in Lahore session of this commission may throw new light on the Jāt history of this period. Suraj Mal was killed near Shah-Dara on 21st *Jamada*, 1177 A. H, in a surprise attack made by Muhamad Khan Baloch, an officer of Najib-ud-daula (*Waqia*, page 199).

He left four sons, Jawahir Singh, Ratan Singh, Newal Singh by one wife, and Ranjit Singh by another. Jawahir amply avenged his father's death by plundering Delhi and ravaging the imperial dominions. He captured Aligarh and re-named it Ramgarh (Ibratnama). From the accession of Jawahir Singh the Jāt history acquires a new interest as showing the last expiring efforts of the French to expel the English from India by building up a confederacy of the Jāts, Sikhs, and Ahmed Khān Bangash. M. Medoc took up service with the Raja of Bharatpur with the same motive which brought half a century after Allan and Ventura to the Court of Rājait Singh. Memoirs of M. Law and Rene Medoc and the Calendar of Persian letters edited by Sir Denison Ross yield important information about this period. M. Medoc's dream was not realised as Jawahir Singh was too much of a fanatic and knight-errant to act consistently with statesman-like moderation. He marched defiantly beating his war-drum, through Jaipur territory to bathe in the Pushkar Lake. The Kacchwas opposed his return and a disastrous battle was fought which forms the subject-matter of a stirring ballad, the *secca* of Jawahir Singh, still sung by the bards. He was assassinated in the Agra Fort at the instigation of the Raja of Jaipur. Ratan Singh, younger brother of Jawahir, was a worthless man. He was murdered at Brindaban by a Gossain, Sri Rupanand, on account of some love intrigue (*Waqia*, page 219). Newal Singh who succeeded him was a strenuous fighter, but he played a losing game against the genius of Mirza Najaf Khan, the last of the great foreigners who graced the Court of the Timurides. Khairuddin describes the campaigns of Najaf Khan against the Jāts at pretty length (Ibratnama, pages 212-270). Ranjit Singh succeeded Newal Singh and carried on the struggle for some time. Deeg fell after a siege of twelve months, Ranjit Singh fled to Kumbhir and thence to Bharatpur.

Rani Kishori, wife of Suraj Mal, went to the camp of Najaf Khán to intercede on behalf of her son. The chivalrous victor granted mother's prayer and peace was concluded (Ibratnama, pages 346-347)

In the latter part of his rule Ranjit Singh provoked hostilities with the English by allying himself with Yasowant Rao Holkar. Major W. Thoin in his *Memoirs of the wars in India conducted by Lord Lake*, gives us first-rate information. "A chronicle of Joswant Rao Holkar's times written by Bakshi Bhawaní Sankar, a constant attendant on Holkar's camp and the account of various battles in Bharatpur written by another camp-follower of Holkar" as reported in a note by the Indore representatives in the Lahore Session of this Commission—are likely to be of great value. Lord Lake appeared before Deeg on December 13th, 1804, and the X'mas morning of that year saw the British flag floating on the battlement of that strong fort which defied Najaf Khán for 12 months. Next he besieged Bharatpur with result not very creditable to British arms. Four successive assaults were delivered in course of two months in which they lost 3,100 men, and 108 officers. But the Maratha and Pindari allies of the Raja of Bharatpur fell away and he saw the futility of holding out in a fort against the whole resources of India and the superior military science of the West. He sued for terms which were granted on the line of subsidiary alliance. Here ends the history of the Ját who ceased to be an independent power under that treaty.

The importance of the history of the Ját to the student of Medieval India lies in its carrying light in the darkest and most complicated period of Indian history. It will also considerably clear the path of the Gibbon of the future in finishing the story of the Decline and Fall of the Mughal Empire left half-told by the great historian William Irvine. The Ját deserves attention as he, without caste distinction, female seclusion and with his democratic tendencies, erect moral stature and unprejudiced mind, is more in sympathy with modern age than the aristocratic Rajput who has not yet discarded his medieval traits of character, still cherishing the notion of class privilege, and contempt for productive labour. If the Ját is sufficiently enlightened, he may carry back the Hindu society with him to its Vedic purity, infusing new vigour into it, and preparing it for a more glorious destiny.

Discussion—Professor Sarkar observed that Prof. Qanungo had drawn the attention of the students of history to the importance of the history of the Jats not a day soon. The Jats had a great contempt for literary occupations and much of their early history is at present contained in local traditions and popular ballads which have been handed down from one generation to another. Such traditions and ballads were likely to be lost to the world if immediate steps were not taken to collect them and put them in writing. It would be an excellent thing if the Jat students at Delhi took an interest in their old history and tried to collect together these traditions and stories from old men and priests and bards, who were rapidly becoming extinct. Without such data no true history of the Jats could be written.

Professor Sarkar further observed that Professor Qanungo's theory of the origin of the name of Delhi from the Dhillon tribe of Jats should not be brushed

aside, as the name of the city is spelt *Dhilli* दिल्ली and not as *Delhi* or *Dihli* in a 14th century Sanskrit inscription of a Pathan Sultan. There could be no doubt as to the pronunciation of this name, which is written in the Nagri script and subject to the well-known rules of Sanskrit phonetics. Professor Sarkar emphasised the importance of the part played by the Jats in the history of Northern India in the 18th century, and congratulated Professor Qanungo on his having undertaken to study the history of the origin and migrations of this neglected, but manly and interesting people.

Mr. Sharp observed that if Delhi meant the territory of *Dhillons* or a body of lazy folk, the people of Delhi should steadily set themselves not to live up to the interpretation. The derivation of the name from the idea of laziness was not without precedent. He expressed the hope that Professors of history at Delhi would be successful in interesting their Jat students in the investigation of their own history.

The Buildings of the Tughlaqs

(By H. Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A.)

I have been urged to read a paper on Delhi. I felt much hesitation in doing so. I am not the best fitted here to do so, nor have I for years possessed the leisure which research into the antiquities of this place demands. Nor is such a paper quite congruous with the intentions of this Commission. However, I have yielded—reluctantly, be it said. *Records inscribed on paper are not the only ones* worth studying, and we have here, in the monuments that strew the plain, as noble and as speaking a record of this ancient seat of Empire as could be desired. Not only the structure of the buildings, but the thousands of inscriptions with which they abound afford a narrative both of Delhi and also of the vast territories ruled by her Emperors. From the Kutb to the buildings now rising at Raisina they trace the story of India, or at least of much of India, through over seven hundred years.

But the story is a long one and cannot be even indicated within the compass of a brief paper. I have therefore chosen one era—that of the Tughlaqs. Their buildings are unique in style and peculiar to Delhi. They are extremely numerous. Some of them, standing at a distance from the beaten tracks, are seldom visited. The intrusion of this peculiar style between the splendours that went before and came afterwards puzzles the visitor. Their rugged and massive walls tell of an age of iron, of stern wills and of fierce conquerors. No less than the victorious pride of old Delhi, or than the dreamy creations of the Mughals, they speak the lessons of their time and bring home to us the picture of a century that witnessed struggles against cruel invaders, a reign of unexampled tyranny, another of peace and progress achieved amidst intolerance and surrounding danger and finally the flames and bloodshed attendant on the sack of a vast capital.

The Tughlaq dynasty occupied nearly a hundred years—from 1321 to 1414. It was thus contemporary with the Plantagenets in England—the earlier part of the 100

years' war and the battles of Crecy and Poitiers. The Tughlaq period commenced and ended with tragedy. The dynasty was founded as the result of the confusion and misrule following on the death of the great Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji, when Tughlaq Ghazi Khan (afterwards known as Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq), the warden of the marches against the Mongol incursions, was called in to restore order. Its greatness ended with the death of Firoz Shah in 1388, after which confusion reasserted itself, culminating in the capture of Delhi by Timur the Tatar in 1398.

Thus, though the family struggled on, with diminished power, till 1414, the house of Tughlaq really exerted influence for only 67 years, all but four of which are occupied by two long reigns—that of Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq or Muhammad Shah Tughlaq as he is commonly called, and that of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. The former was a scholar, a powerful ruler, but an eccentric and cruel despot. The latter, a quiet and peace-loving monarch who nevertheless tried his hand unsuccessfully at the then fashionable game of conquest, settled down to consolidate his Empire and to erect or restore buildings. It is to this propensity that we owe the fact that the Tughlaq dynasty, short as it was, has contributed to Delhi a larger number of what may be called major monuments than any other of the Muhammadan dynasties. Its efforts in this direction are eclipsed, in point of magnificence, by the Mughal Emperors. But the Tughlaq buildings are found all over the far-flung site of Delhi and include three of the so-called cities, and four important mosques, to say nothing of lesser ones. The period is less rich in tombs than are others, but among those that are left, two, each in a different way, are noble monuments.

The character of these buildings is distinctly demarcated from that of the preceding and of the succeeding times. The earlier Tughlaq style, indeed, adopted some of the features found in the buildings of the Khiljis, and the later bequeathed some of its own features to the Sayyids and Lodis. But the essential features are peculiar. Massive, strong and often almost repellent in their plainness, these buildings utterly belie the term Saracenic, which is often applied to them in common with the other Islamic styles prevalent at various times in India. Their massive strength is characteristic of a race of stern rulers and of an age harsh and fraught with tumult and ever-threatening danger. Their unadorned plainness is probably significant of a revolt against the unconventionality of some of the Slave and Khilji monuments and against the utilisation of Hindu craftsmen and occasionally Hindu structure and design. The imminence of danger from the Mongols, who had, in previous reigns, carried their incursions to the very walls of Delhi and who continued to harry neighbouring countries, though the strong Tughlaq rule kept external foes at bay till the fatal Tartar incursion of 1398, may, as dangers often do, have turned the minds of the builders to a stricter observance of religious injunctions. They may have considered that their predecessors had indulged the lust of the eye more than was permitted by the tenets of their faith. Howbeit, a sombre puritanism is the prevailing note and there is a stricter adherence than before to Islamic forms and methods of construction.

For this reason, it appears at first sight that the Tughlaq style marks a retrogression in architecture. Nothing could be greater than the contrast between the

simple grace of the tomb of Altamsh (about 1235 A D) or the ornate beauty of the Alai Darwaza (1310), and, let us say, the Begumpuri Masjid, said to have been built in 1387, with its unadorned gloom and meaningless crowd of ill-proportioned domes. Yet this strange style has its appointed place in the development of Indo-Saracenic art at Delhi. It checked the threat of effeminacy visible in the Alai Darwaza. It thrust ornamentation into obscurity just when ornamentation seemed about to pass beyond its proper bounds and become an object rather than an incident. It reasserted the unadorned simplicity which is the key-note of the best Islamic designs. Yet it borrowed something from Hindu models, and it developed new effects by massing of the component parts, in contrast with the fortuitous isolation of the Slave and Khilji buildings, and by the very size and spaciousness to which its solid structures attained.

The structural features of the buildings are distinctly Islamic. The true arch predominates. The dome, which had only just come into use at Delhi, as in the Alai Darwaza, forms an invariable part. One of the earliest monuments of the period possesses the first marble dome at Delhi—and, so far as one knows, the last for many years to come. Ordinarily the domes are hemispherical and often extremely numerous on a single building, the Khirki mosque having no less than 89 on its roof. But they are generally small and unimposing and bear neither proportion to, nor any close association with, the mass of the building. Far other is the beautiful dome of Firoz Shah's tomb, which forms the inevitable and perfect superstructure to the body of the tomb. The minaret, like the dome, is no essential part of a mosque, though both are characteristic and symbolic elements in Islamic architecture. The minaret (if we except the Kutb Minar) does not appear at Delhi till Mughal times. But the Tughlaqs introduced flanking columns or pilasters suggesting the minaret and generally copying the angular and rounded flutings of the Kutb. The interiors of the mosques are often colonnaded, the colonnades developing in some cases into roofing which covers most of the superficial area. The only Hindu features are the heavy dripstones which generally surmount these colonnades and the brackets and architrave set within the span of the arch of certain buildings, *e.g.*, the doors of Firoz Shah's tomb. Ornamentation is absent—though some Hindu rosettes in red sandstone are to be seen on the gateway of the Begumpuri mosque. The structure, save in some of the earliest buildings, is extremely rough, undressed masses of the local schist being embedded in a remarkably hard cement, the whole covered over with a thick coating of chunam. This chunam is now black with age and adds to the prevailing gloom. In some buildings it was perhaps always black, mixed with gur and charcoal of coconuts. But, sometimes at least, it was white and resembled marble. The general impression conveyed is that of massive roughness. The walls are the principal feature in the building and in this respect and in their marked slope recall Egyptian designs. The slope or batter is a strong characteristic of the time, reflecting the love of durable solidity. It was certainly not, in the first instance at least, dictated by the rough conglomerate material, for Ghiyas-ud-din's tomb, a noble achievement of masonry, has walls over eleven feet thick at the base and only four feet thick at the top.

The extreme development of Tughlaq architecture is not visible at the beginning of the era. The first efforts are an adaptation of the style prevalent in Khilji times. Apart from the city of Tughlaqabad, the first three monuments are built of, or at least faced with, good dressed sandstone, and by no means devoid of ornament. The first which must be mentioned is the Jamaat Khana Mosque at Nizamuddin's dargah. It is doubtful whether it should be classed as a Tughlaq building at all. The central compartment was probably built in Khilji times by Khizr Khan, the son of Ala-ud-din, as a tomb for the saint, who, however, did not desire to be buried there. The two side compartments were then built and the place converted into a mosque, possibly by Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq. It is of red sandstone, with three engrailed arches of the type used by the Khiljis. The depth of the compartments and their five domes are peculiar features. The second is the tomb of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq and is the best known of those early buildings. It stands in a small fortress enclosure to the south of Tughlaqabad and connected with one of the gates of the city by a causeway which runs across what was once a lake. The strongly sloping walls are of finely dressed red sandstone, with no mortar apparent, ornamented on the upper portion with white marble. The dome is of white marble, the first of its kind in Delhi. The last is a comparatively modest tomb, built of rough stone and mortar, faced with red sandstone, and surmounted by a plaster-covered dome. It stands in Jahanpanah, the city of Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq, and holds the remains of a person called Kabir-ud din Aulia.

It has been necessary to mention these three buildings first, because their style marks them off from the later monuments of the Tughlaqs. The next deserving of mention are the three cities built by the Tughlaqs. These are Tughlaqabad, rather more than four miles east of the eastern gate of Old Delhi, built by Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq. The second, Jahanpanah, was built by Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq with a view to joining Old Delhi with the fortified suburb of Siri, as a protection against freebooters. The third, Firozabad, was built by Firoz Shah about eight miles north of Old Delhi, on the bank of the Jumna. One doubts how far it is justifiable to call these places cities. The wall of Tughlaqabad has indeed a circuit of four miles and encloses a goodly area. But much of this was taken up by the inner citadel and the palace, and, anyway, the place appears to have been inhabited only for a few years, if at all. Jahanpanah was clearly a suburb of Old Delhi. Of Firozabad, only the palace buildings remain. Though the proximity of the Kalan Masjid clearly shows that there were other habitations in the neighbourhood, one cannot help feeling suspicious about Shams-i-Siraj's account of the city's great size, stretching from Indrapat to the Kushk-i-Shikar. It has been termed the Windsor of Old Delhi, and Timur's account clearly seems to place the main city still far to the south—with Jahanpanah as its centre.

Tughlaqabad, standing on its rocky platform, with scarped sides, sloping bastions and upper line of battlements, to a height of 90 feet, is one of the most striking ruins at Delhi. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq appears to have built it as soon as he became Sultan, probably as a safe refuge against the Mongols, more easily

defended than Old Delhi. The story of his struggle with the Saint, Nizam-ud-din, over the question of labour is well known. To the south are the fortress tomb of Ghiyas-ud-din and the detached citadel of Adilabad, built by Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq and connected, like the tomb, by a causeway with the city. Further to the south is a rocky expanse of low hill. The water from this and other sources was held up in the plain to the south of Tughlaqabad and surrounding Adilabad by a dam to the east and formed a lake.

Little remains of the extensive walls of Jahanpanah save some portions of the eastern and southern lines. It contains numerous buildings—the tomb of Kabir-ud-din already mentioned, the Begumpuri and Khirki mosques, presently to be mentioned, and the following three. Just to the east of Khirki, in the line of the southern wall, is a large sluice, called Sath Palah. This curious construction, over 250 feet in length, was primarily a regulator for the flow of water in the stream which comes from the highland to the south, traverses part of Jahanpanah and, after joining various other streams, passes under the Mughal bridge called Barah Palah into the Jumna. Secondly, it formed part of the wall and made a bridge over the stream. Next, there is a building called the Bijaya or Bedi Mandal, just to the north of Begumpur. It is stated to have been part of the palace of Muhammad ibn-Tughlaq or to have been a grandstand from which the royal family watched *tamashas* on gala days. The villagers will tell you it was built by Prithvi Raja. According to another theory it was a watch-tower behind the western wall of Jahanpanah. The palace of a thousand pillars, it may be observed, is one of the baffling mysteries of Delhi. It is said by some to have been built by Ala-ud-din either inside or just to the south of Siri. Others say it was built in Jahanpanah (which might well be just to the south of Siri) by Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq. That monarch is also stated to have built a similar palace, with the same name as, but differing in identity from, the palace of Ala-ud-din, inside the citadel of Adilabad. What most concerns us here is that no vestige, so far as is known, of any of these palaces remains, save possibly the Bijaya Mandal. The third building is the tomb of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Chiragh Delhi, the last of the great Chishti saints of Delhi, who was murdered by a fanatic in 1356. It stands in the eastern part of Jahanpanah, in the middle of what is now a flourishing village, surrounded by walls built in 1729. The most interesting building in the village belongs to the next period and is the reputed tomb of Bahlol Lodi.

Little is left of Firozabad save some of the palace walls, some remains of the great mosque and the platform on which stands one of the two Asoka pillars brought to Delhi by the Emperor. The lay-out of the mosque has been dictated by the proximity of the river to its eastern side. Consequently the main entrance is in the northern wall, others leading up from the *takhhanas* below. It seems certain that, like Khan Jahan's mosques, it had colonnades or cloisters along the inside of the walls. In the centre of the court is a pit, now filled up, which may have been a *baoli* of some form connected with the river front, or a sunk chamber like that of Sultan Ghauri, or a shaft for the foundation of a chhattri bearing a record of the

Emperor's achievements, to which reference is made in the annals of the time. Even from what is left of this mosque it is clear that it was a building of impressive size and design. The chunam with which it is covered is said to have been as white as marble. Timur, who visited it, marching three *kos* from Delhi to do so, is said to have been much struck with its grandeur. The Asoka pillar, of surpassing interest by reason of its particularly fine inscription, belongs to a far remoter age. Its chief interest in connection with the time of the Tughlaqs is the illustration it affords of the Emperor's love of antiquities and of the ingenuity which enabled its transport from the Ambala district and its placing in upright position on a lofty pyramid of rooms.

In connection with Firozabad may be mentioned the curious buildings which compose the Kushk-i-Shikar to the north of Delhi on the Ridge. One doubts if this was really enclosed within Firozabad. Had it been, some indications of the walls indispensable to cities of the time would surely have been spared. More likely it was a country retreat of the Emperor, where he could indulge in hunting. The story says that he was persuaded to this pastime as a solace for his grief at the loss of his son, Fateh Khan. The most interesting building is an extraordinary mass of masonry, known as Pir Ghaib and containing the cenotaph of the vanished saint and a mosque on the upper floor. Other indications have led to the idea that it was used as an observatory. Possibly it was a freakish building intended for various purposes, and incidentally a watch-tower from which the movements of game could be seen. On the western side of the Ridge is a *baoli*, with the remains of an underground passage. The construction of such passages is supposed to have been, like canals and water-works, a favourite occupation of Firoz Shah, and the Kushk-i-Shikar is said to have been connected by such passages with the palace of Firozabad. Close to the Pir Ghaib is the second Asoka pillar brought to Delhi by Firoz Shah. Further to the north is the mausoleum called Chauburji.

The mosques of Tughlaq times are mainly the work of Khan Jahan, Firoz Shah's minister. He is said to have built seven mosques, four of which are conspicuous. The Begumpuri mosque, in Jahanpanah, is of great size and still contains a village. It appears to have become the Jama Masjid of the group of three walled areas which constituted the southern city of Delhi, thus probably superseding the old Kuwwat-ul-Islam mosque at the Kutb. It is built in the severest style of the Tughlaqs and is impressive only by its great size. A second and a very noble specimen is the Kalan Masjid in Shahjahanabad. This is the most imposing of the mosques of the period, owing to its elevation above a ground-floor, its fine entrance, dome-surmounted and with high columns. The next two must be noticed together. The Kali or Sanjar Masjid stands in sad ruin to the south of Nizam-ud-din's *daigah*. It was built much earlier than the other mosques of Khan Jahan, and displays a novel feature. The colonnades characteristic of Tughlaq mosques are developed so as to extend in the form of arcades running out at right angles to the walls and meeting in the middle. This development would give shelter on rainy days and may have been intended to do

so Anyway, some years later Khan Jahan developed the idea still further in the great mosque of Khirki (in the southern part of Jahanpanah), where the arcades are so far widened as to convert the building into a roofed mosque with four small courtyards. These mosques generally have good inscriptions over the eastern gates in marble or plaster. The Khirki mosque has no inscription but was probably built about 1387, which, curiously enough, is also the date of the Kalan and Begumpur mosques. The piety of their founder, who describes himself on these inscriptions as the son of the slave of the threshold, did not protect him from calamity in this world. The son of Firoz Shah, who became practically ruler in place of his father, disliked Khan Jahan, forced him to flee from Delhi and sent an army against him. The ex-minister was slain and his head sent to Delhi.

Finally there are the tombs and grave-yards of the period. The most famous is of course the dargah of Nizam-ud-din Auliya. But, save the Jamaat Khana mosque, already mentioned, nothing remains of the buildings of the time, the grave of the saint and the other graves around being of later date. The tombs of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq and Kabir-ud-din Aulia were described in dealing with the early Tughlaq style. The tomb of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Chiragh Delhi has also been mentioned and is of no particular artistic merit. The Qadam Sharif is interesting mainly on account of the history of the sacred foot print and of Fateh Khan the son of Firoz Shah, who is buried beneath it. There is a charming dargah, of a little-known saint called Shah Alam, at Wazirabad to the north of Shahjahanabad and just where the Ridge disappears into the Jumna. To the west of the tomb is a three-domed mosque of the style of Firoz Shah's reign. Close to the dargah is a fine bridge, of the same period, together with a sluice. This spans the depression between the mosque and rocky land to the north, down which now runs the Najafgarh cut. It is surmised that the original intention of the sluice and the heavy piers of the bridge was to regulate the back flow of the Jumna up this depression during flood-time. The Tughlaqs appear to have delighted in water-works, as the artificial lake south of Tughlaqabad and the remains at Khirki indicate. Firoz Shah made the West Jumna Canal and was, moreover, a great restorer of the old buildings round Delhi. His tomb is the last building which will here be noticed. It stands about a mile to the west of the Kutb road, at the south-east corner of the Hauz Khas, an enormous tank, excavated by Ala-ud-din Khilji, and when it had fallen into decay, re-excavated and repaired by Firoz Shah. The tomb is a simple square building, finely proportioned and carrying a noble dome. To the south is a small space surrounded by what resembles a miniature Buddhist rail. To the north and west are extensive remains of buildings, which included a madrasa.

This noble tomb forms a fitting close to a long list of buildings, mainly constructed by, or during the time of, the Emperor who lies beneath it. The Tughlaqs, like the other Turki dynasties in India, displayed the apparently, though not really, incongruous characteristics of a rude savagery in their conquests and their rule and of a passion for self-expression in artistic production. The middle ages in Europe, with their pitiless wars and their glorious cathedrals, manifest a

like combination The sternness of the time reacted on the features of the Tughlaq buildings and imprinted itself on their vast, unadorned walls and forbidding austerity In the great battlements and bastions of Tughlaqabad we see the strong warden of the marches, in the far-stretching ruins of Jahanpanah the megalomania of the strange tyrant who transported the population of Delhi to Daulatabad and visited his subjects with reckless and fatal oppression, in the canals and many works of Fuz Shah, the attempt at reconstruction during a long and comparatively secure reign. The series is a fitting memorial of the middle ages in India. With the Sayyids and Lodis new and more elaborate forms and details borrowed from Hindu architecture came into use The Mughals replaced the virile severity of preceding styles by the introduction of Persian models and more effeminate features On each style is left the impress of its age; and on none more clearly than on this, which tells the stern tales and recalls the strong harsh rule of the fourteenth century

There was no discussion on this paper

The following paper had been specially prepared for the meeting but could not be read It is printed *in extenso* below:—

The Madras Weavers under the Company

(By H Dodwell, M.A, Curator, Madras Record Office.)

I

The history of the Indian cotton industry has still to be investigated At present little is certainly known about it Men talk vaguely about the millions formerly employed in it, but their estimates are based more on faith than on knowledge Some account of the position of the weavers in South India at the close of the 18th century may therefore be useful at the present time as showing what definite facts may be gathered from the records of the Company

As is often the case a good deal more is to be learnt about the export branch of the South Indian cotton industry than about its internal production and consumption In the eighteenth century a bale of cloth contained about 1,000 yards, and 5½ bales averaged a ton of cargo A vessel of 500 tons, if fully laden with bales, would therefore take 3½ million yards But even when all the three great companies were trading, not more than 11 or 12 vessels were laden yearly on the Coast for Europe and none of these was ever completely filled with bale-goods These Europe ships may be taken to average 500 tons, so that the total export to Europe may be reckoned at 30-35 million yards This estimate is confirmed by the fact that, when all the foreign factories were in English hands at the close of the 18th century, and the English Company was endeavouring to make London the sole mart for the sale of Indian piece-goods, its indents never exceeded 30 million yards For this output the Company engaged the work of 40,000 looms, *i.e.* approximately 50,000 weavers.

What relation this bore to the total production is hard to say. Any estimate must consist very largely of guess-work. But it seems to me likely that the Europe market afforded employment for about one weaver in ten. The weavers in South India probably numbered somewhere about half a million in all.

The weavers were not of course closely concentrated as they would be to-day. But certain districts had a special number of weaving villages, due principally to the facilities for the supply of raw cotton. One such weaving zone stretched down parallel with the Coast from Vizagapatam to the Godavari, supplied principally with cotton from the Nagpore territories. Here were made the soft calicoes which long formed the staple of the Company's investment. Round Masulipatam were made the short cloths which were converted into chintz, handkerchiefs, and other coloured goods. Some way back from Madras lay the principal centres for the manufacture of fine goods—beteelas and mu-lins. To the south and south-west of Cuddalore, lay the centres of Udaiyarpalayam, Chinnamanaiyakkannpalayam, and Shial, where were made calicoes that were dyed blue principally in the neighbourhood of Porto Novo. In the extreme south again were many calico-weaving villages in the Ramnad and Tinnevely districts. Besides these major groups, goods made from dyed yarn—such as ginghams, allejars, and izars—were produced at several centres on the Coast, and cloths were painted at many places besides Masulipatam.

Of the supplies of raw cotton we have little information, and only vague indications as to its price. In the 17th century it was reckoned very dear when it reached 20 pagodas the candy, or about 4d per lb. But in the 18th century, and especially in the second half of it, it seems to have ranged from 20 to 30 pagodas, say, from 4d to 6d. Sometimes it was reported to be so high as 40 pagodas, but that was only in times of unusual scarcity. In the early years of the 19th century, 6d a lb was reckoned the normal price in the Coast ports. Now in England, the price of cotton was over 20d the lb. down to 1780, but by 1820 it had fallen to 12d and by 1828 to 7d. per lb for the more valuable American and West Indian cottons. So that in the year 1828 India had almost entirely lost all the advantage which she had formerly enjoyed in having cheap raw materials.

II

The weavers themselves were divided into various sub-castes, such as the Kaikolans, Jadars, and Patnulkars of the Tamil countries and the Padma Sales and Pattu Sales of the Telugu districts. Usually each sub-caste wove a particular type of cloth, and could seldom be induced to make any other. Only with difficulty could they be brought to alter the dimensions of the cloth they wove. They seem always to have been very conservative and very improvident. The Report on the Famine in the Madras Presidency, 1896-97, says of them:—"In favourable times the weavers generally earn fair wages. They however spend all they earn without caring to lay by anything. All these weavers are entirely in the hands of the sowcars who make advances to them and get cloths in return. It may be taken as a general fact that most of the professional weavers are indebted to the sowcars."

and are bound to weave for them" The manner in which this description echoes almost all the old accounts of the condition of the weavers is very remarkable. In 1742, when the English were still confined to Madras and its outskirts, together with half a dozen factories along the Coast, the Company was anxious to establish a weaving settlement in the Cuddalore bounds. The Madras Council replied — "The truth is that the generality of the weavers are a poor wretched sort of people, that work only from hand to mouth, and are only to be kept in order by their heads, who in the country have so full a power over them that, if words won't do, they make use of blows to keep them to their work. They are all indebted to their heads, some more, some less, and, so long as they are so, they are treated as slaves" The country governments allow this, the Council concludes, but "under our government it would be found fault with" Few of the weavers, said a later report, would devote a longer time to labour, than would barely suffice to earn the common necessities of life, their weaving was diversified with cock-fighting and airack, their only capital consisted of their looms, they were wholly dependent on advances without which they could not make the coarsest piece of cloth.

They were therefore in a position of economic dependence. The merchant for whom they worked had of necessity to dole out his advances with much caution, for fear lest his employees should spend them in riotous living instead of in the purchase of yarn. Constraint was often needed before the cloth could be secured, and was usually exercised by domiciling a peon on the weaver who had to feed him. These were the reasons why the English Council for over a century uniformly preferred to employ contractors and to have no direct dealings with the weavers themselves. These contractors were Indian merchants with property which could be distrained on if necessary. It was well recognised that this plan involved paying the merchant a higher price than was paid to the weaver himself, but it was believed, probably with justice, that the merchant would look after the weavers more closely than any paid agent would do, and that desperate debts were thus avoided. Just as Indian princes were employed to harry the people into paying their land-revenue, so too Indian merchants were employed to harry weavers into making cloth.

It is not easy to estimate the weaver's earnings. Much depended on his very uncertain industry. But the basis of a rough calculation is afforded by the following data. The current reckoning was that with moderate industry a workman produced two pieces of long-cloth a month, with the assistance of a woman and three children to dress and prepare the thread. Reports of 1790 show that the weaver received Rs 2 per piece at Vizagapatam, or about Rs 4 per month. At Ingeram the time reckoned for making one piece was 18 days, for which the weaver received 28 fanams. At Cuddalore the time was 16 days and the pay 18 fanams. The weaver's earnings ran therefore from 1 to 1½ pagodas per month or from Rs 3½ to 5½. At this time a sepooy received Rs 7 a month, and a peon half as much.

Until the assumption of the Carnatic in 1801 few weaving districts had been under the Company's direct administration. Even in the Northern Circars, the

weavers lived in the zamindary tracts with which the Company's servants interfered little. The Salem region, ceded by Tipu after the Third Mysore War, was the only important weaving centre in the 18th century really administered from Madras. The condition of the weavers then, so far as administration went, depended upon the advantages and faults of entirely Indian governments.

Under these the weaver was exposed to a variety of imposts. The loom-tax was universal. So also was the road-tax on cotton. So also was the curious custom of compelling the weaver to buy grain at a fixed rate considerably above market price. Nor indeed did these connote fixed and definite charges. They were made the groundwork for a variety of minor imposts which the local revenue officials levied for their own advantage, and were on occasion reinforced by something very like the mediæval forced loan. Thus in 1793 the looms in the Ramnad district were assessed at the rate of 3 or 4 pagodas a loom—probably two months' earnings—to help to defray the cost of a wedding. Similar impositions are recorded to have been exacted in the Northern zamindaries. Under Tipu's government the weavers paid a loom-tax ranging from 24 to 60 fanams, as well as the house-tax, a duty on stamping cloth before it could be exposed for sale, and a *rusum* to the village accountant.

A report of 1794 gives the following melancholy description of the general condition of the weavers at that time—"When the Carnatic was invaded by Hyder Ally in the year 1767, Conjeeveram, Arnee and many of the principal weaving-towns were destroyed, and before they had recovered in any great degree from their losses, the dreadful war of 1780 broke out, which nearly annihilated the manufactures, both in the Carnatic and the Tanjore country. In the great weaving towns of Sheally, Bonaguerry, Porto Novo, etc., scarcely a loom is now to be seen, and in the Company's village of Chinnamanaiq-pollam, where there were seldom less than 1,200 looms constantly employed, the number at present does not exceed 150. In addition to the ravages of war, from which not a *payahet* in the country escaped, and the subsequent famine which swept away great numbers, the weaver being unable to support himself by any other labour than his loom, it was the cruel policy of Hyder Ally to carry away all the weavers with the families whom he was able to make captive into the Mysore Country. The Circars were not indeed exposed to these calamities, but from the severe famine which afterwards raged there, with unabated violence for three successive years, the surviving manufacturers were reduced to as low and impoverished a state, and many years will probably elapse before the *payahets* on the Coast with every encouragement and the greatest indulgences bestowed on them, can be restored to their former prosperous condition."

III

In his *India under early British Rule*, the late Mr Dutt called attention to the evidence of Sir Thomas Munro before the Select Committee of 1813, from which he concludes that "the whole weaving population of villages were thus held in subjection to the Company's factories." An examination of the facts scarcely bears out the conclusion of Mr Dutt. Munro on this occasion was referring to

events which had happened twenty years before when he was one of the Revenue Assistants in the Baramahal and had had a pretty little quarrel with the Commercial Resident at Salem. Munro had asserted that the latter was employing sepoys to oblige weavers to work for the Company and that a piece of cloth cost the weaver to make about a rupee more than he was paid for it. This was in 1793. At that time the Commercial Resident was one Robert Dashwood, who from later papers seems to have been very negligent in controlling his subordinates. In the following year after he had given over charge to his successor, it appeared that his gumastahs had been withholding part of the advances which they should have made to the weavers, by promising the balance in a day or two, which promise they never kept. One gumastah thus appropriated a sum of no less than 13,685 pagodas. This explains why the weavers said that they were required to make cloth at a loss and why they were reluctant to take part in the Investment in 1793. But this state of things was not permanent. Within a couple of years the number of weavers in the district had risen from 3,000 to 5,000, and the investment was larger than ever. If the weavers had not found the Company's rule beneficent they would scarcely have emigrated into the Baramahal from Tipu's dominions. Dashwood's neglect was punished by requiring him to refund personally the amount which his gumastahs had abstracted from the weavers. Munro's evidence was therefore partial, in fact it was evidently coloured by the notorious jealousy which existed between the Revenue and Commercial departments.

However the episode illustrates the great difficulty which was found alike in the conduct of the investment and the collection of the revenue. This was the difficulty of getting honest subordinates. Besides the peculation of the Salem gumastahs, in 1795 it was found that the head-weavers were deducting 4 annas per piece of cloth in consideration of their standing security for the under-weavers. As soon as this custom came to light, the charge was taken over on the Company's account. At Ganjam it was found that the servants in the Warehouse were taking 4 per cent. of the advances made to the weavers, and so late as 1818 the misconduct of the principal Indian servant at Vizagapatam led to trouble. But whenever these practices were detected, they were firmly repressed. The aim of the Company and of its servants was to secure the well-being of the weavers who worked for the Investment.

As illustrations of this it may be mentioned that the Northern zamindars were enjoined not to place sepoys over the weavers in their zamindaries. One of the principal Southern zamindars was straightly charged to amend his methods of administration. Company's weavers living in the Nawab's territories were relieved of the loom-tax, which was paid for them by the Company's officials so as to relieve them of the unwelcome visits of the amildars. During the great famine in the Northern Circars, many weavers were maintained by allowances of grain made to them by the Company to save them from starving. When any increase of price was necessitated by the high price of cotton, the increase was paid direct to the weavers so that the merchants should not have an opportunity of appropriating any

part of it. The general basis of the Company's policy was "to grant such terms as may induce them to give our employ a decided preference."

After the assumption of the Carnatic, the question of administration began to be taken up seriously. The result was that in 1803 a regulation was passed which in general reproduced the provisions of the Bengal Regulation of 1793. This has been severely criticised by Mr Dutt as legalising a system of compulsion. But in fact the only measures of compulsion that could be used were directed against those weavers who failed to comply with their contracts. No coercion could be used to make the weavers work for the Company, those who did so were to enter into written engagements, and persons violating, or persuading the weavers to violate them, were liable to prosecution before the Zillah courts. For these provisions there was good cause. Especially in the Northern Circars there was much competition for the cloth which was made there. The weavers were apt to sell the cloth which they had made on the Company's advances to other persons, who thus secured cloth without the expense of making advances or the risk of incurring bad debts. The Regulation of 1803 did no more than compel a weaver who took advances from one person to deliver his cloth to the same person.

In 1814 the Company claimed for itself with considerable truth, that it had done much for the weavers. "Under the native governments" it wrote, "the weavers and other workmen were subject to innumerable vexations, rising out of the imposition of occasional and undefined taxes, from which they are now free, such as arbitrary assignments upon the marriage of a zamindar's daughter, compulsory receipt of grain at an advanced price in baiter for their cloths, extorted loans of money, taxes suddenly laid upon thread. They are also now emancipated from a state of unquestioned liability to give their labour and the pre-emption of their manufactures to the governing power or its provincial representatives whenever they chose to require them, and that at prices below the just rates."

Proceedings of the Members' Meeting.

On the 7th January a meeting of the members to consider the agenda was held in the room of Mr H. Sharp at the Government of India Secretariat.

I.—Review of the action taken on the resolutions of the first, second and third meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

The Secretary placed before the meeting a Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the local Governments on the resolutions of the Commission. This was considered by the meeting.

In connection with the decision of the third meeting of the Commission that enquiry should be made as to whether Mr R S Whiteway had left any manuscript materials as the result of his examination of the State records in Portugal, it was pointed out that the enquiry should be addressed to the India Office and not to the Government of Bombay, as the latter might not have any information on the subject.

II.—Calendaring of General Letters to and from the Court of Directors in the Imperial Record Department.

The following note was considered —

At its meeting held at Lahore in January 1920 the Indian Historical Records Commission recommended the calendaring of General Letters to and from Court in the Imperial Record Department from July 1757, on the ground that previous despatches are largely covered by S C Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57* and the *Old Fort William* of C R Wilson. In March 1921 the Keeper of Records suggested to the Government of India that calendaring should begin from 1749, the date of the earliest document in the Imperial Record Department, on the ground that although the political history of the period prior to July 1757 had been sufficiently investigated, the commercial and economic history still awaited investigation and research, that out of 142 letters 37 had been printed *in extenso* and 21 in parts in Hill's and Wilson's publications, and that when it was decided to bring out a series it would be more satisfactory to have it in chronological sequence. This proposal was circulated to the members of the Commission in May last for opinion. All the replies, except that from Professor Saikar, have now been received. Professors Rushbrook

Williams and Thakore and Mr Dias support the views of the Keeper of Records, Mr Dodwell prefers to abide by the decision of the Commission and Archdeacon Firminger is of opinion that if there be any change in the arrangement approved of by the Commission, calendaring should begin from 1767, instead of 1757, as the period between Clive's and Hastings' administrations has not been sufficiently investigated by any historian. He considers that it is more important to begin by supplying light where it is most needed. His note is quoted below *in extenso* —

“In regard to the letter of the Keeper of the Imperial Records, I do not feel that the consideration of commercial and economic materials is as important as that which led the Commission to suggest that the beginning of the calendaring should commence at a date when available information concerning the records as a whole is scarce. From the point of view of commercial and economic history, the consultations of Council in the period before 1756 (and also the factory records) are quite, or even more important than the General Letters. There is already a standard work on the Company's commerce, and a shorter treatise on the subject was published by the Cambridge Press a few years ago. The inquirers to whom Mr Mitra refers could obtain many materials by consulting the Press Lists of records of the Record Department, but as is often the case, the inquirers do not want to take the trouble of consulting calendars or press lists, but want the Keeper of the Records to do the work for them. I take it that the General Letters would give information about the Company's investment, but they would do so in a very general way. If one wished to find *how* the investment was made up one would have, for the earlier period, to consult the Factory Records at the India Office. I believe there are Factory Records at Madras and Bombay, but we have none in Bengal, and I also believe that the bulk of the later commercial records which were at India House have been ruthlessly destroyed. As to conditions of labour much is to be found in the consultations of the Provincial Councils and the District Records, and the publication of information derived from such sources must be a matter for the consideration of Provincial Governments and then Historical Records Committees.

“If any change is to be made in the arrangement approved of by the Commission, I would be tempted to recommend that the beginning of calendaring the General Letters should commence with 1767 instead of 1757. The period of Clive's administration has been worked over by many students, and although Sir George Forrest has scamped the deeper aspects of his subject, there is a good deal in print to assist the student. It is with Clive's departure we find ourselves, despite Verelst's book, in the dark. It is now becoming acknowledged that the generalisations with which the Verelst-Cartier period have been dismissed (say in Sir Alfred Lyall's book) represent a real ignorance of men and their measures. Hitherto one class of historians has practically left off with Clive, while the other commences with Warren Hastings. For this reason the immediate results of Clive's work are not known, while Hastings' administration begins in the air. We know that during this dark period the main question was how far the Company's administration

could be made direct and how far in the Dewani Districts it would be necessary to rely on the Mughal machinery. We know that on this subject there was a distinct cleavage between the older servants of the Company represented by Becher and the men whom Clive had imported from Madras to supersede the Bengal servants, and we know that in the end the Directors supported the younger men (the Council) as against the older (the Select Committee), and that this triumph entailed the dismissal of Cartier and the advent of Warren Hastings to the Governor's chair. The General Letters would explain the attitude of the Court to the great problem—an attitude which would have to be explained with reference to the elective methods of the Court and the threat of Parliamentary intervention in Indian affairs. The period too is of importance as it seems to have been in Cartier's time that the Company was compelled to develop a foreign policy of a wider range than Clive had anticipated, and it is during this period the geography of the country was becoming a matter of exact information.

"I, therefore, would urge that it is important to begin by supplying light where it is most needed. If we divided the Calendars into two series No 1 starting with 1749 and No 2 starting with 1767 there would be no inconvenience as to *format*. If Mr Mitra's staff is adequate to the preparation of the two series going on concurrently, so much the better.

"As there is a dark period between 1767 and 1772, there is also a dark period from 1722 to 1756. This last period is longer, but its interest is rather antiquarian than historical, as compared with the later period. The publication of a Calendar of the General Letters from 1749 to 1756 would be a great advantage, but prior to 1749 the work, so far as Bengal is concerned, would have to be done from records at the India Office. (It must also be remembered that up to 1774, at the earliest, the Imperial Records are Bengal Records.)

"I would, therefore, recommend that the calendaring of the General Letters commence with a series No II commencing January 1767, and, if the cadre of the staff of the Imperial Record Department admits of it, series No I be put in hand commencing with 1749."

Mr Dodwell and Archdeacon Fuminger after discussion with the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India withdrew their objection to his proposal and it was decided that calendaring should begin from 1749 instead of 1757.

III.—Grant of a subsidy to Maulavi Zafar Hasan for publishing the "Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh."

A request for the grant of a subsidy to Maulavi Zafar Hasan for his reproduction of the Persian manuscript "*Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*" was considered.

As the object of the Commission is to assist in the publication of original records or studies on them, and as neither of these definitions is applicable to the publication in question, the application was refused.

It was further resolved that no applications for grants towards any publications should ordinarily be entertained unless the Commission had been previously consulted.

IV.—Report of Father Hosten on his visit to Mylapore, Madras etc., in connection with the preparation of a history of Jesuit Missions in Bengal.

The Secretary placed before the Commission a copy of his report

The Commission further considered the representation by Father Hosten on the subject of his travelling allowance for his journey

It was decided that instead of second class travelling he should be granted first class, and that as his journeys took more than six weeks, the restriction that his journey should be limited to this period should be relaxed.

V.—Madras and Coorg lists of European tombs with inscriptions.

The following note and the lists from Madras and Coorg, which had been received by the Secretary, were considered

At the third meeting of the Commission a resolution was passed on the preparation of provincial lists of European burial grounds. The resolution runs as follows —

The Commission decided to draw the attention of the Government of India to the importance of the preparation of correct lists of European burial grounds with inscriptions on tombs. It was of opinion that the local Governments should be asked to appoint suitable editors to catalogue the various tombs and to edit the inscriptions and to report periodically their progress and to forward the same to the Government of India for the information of the Commission. The Commission further suggested that the assistance of Archdeacons would be useful in the preparation of such lists.

In commending this resolution to the consideration of local Governments the Government of India stated "The Commission have not specified the period for which the lists are to be prepared, but it appears desirable to record all inscriptions on tombs of the 17th and 18th centuries and of at least the earlier part of the 19th century, *e.g.*, up to 1857. Some of the information required is probably available in the existing provincial lists of inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments though no doubt a revision may be necessary to meet the wishes of the Commission. Should any local Government wish to undertake the work referred to in the resolution, I am to suggest that, with a view to avoid unnecessary expenditure, the assistance of honorary workers may be invited. Any reports, etc., that may be prepared should, in the opinion of the Government of India, be sent direct to the

Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, Calcutta, who is *ex-officio* Secretary to the Indian Historical Records Commission, instead of to the Government of India."

The Secretary pointed out that the Madras Government did not propose to draw up fresh lists in the absence of any reason to suppose that the existing lists are full of errors. The Commission agreed with the Government of Madras that fresh lists for Madras should not be drawn up unless it is definitely proved that the existing lists are full of errors.

VI.—Transfer of the Bantam Inward Letter Book, 1679—83, from the Bombay Record Office to the India Office.

The Commission considered the following note —

The Government of Bombay have forwarded for the opinion of the Indian Historical Records Commission proposals from Mr A. F. Kincaid, I.C.S., for the transfer of Bantam Inward Letter Book, 1679-83, from Bombay to the India Office on the ground that there are no other records from Java or any part of the East Indies or Further India in the Bombay records, while there exists in the India Office Records a collection of records from Bantam of the same period as the letter-book in question. Mr Kincaid's letter is quoted below —

"I have the honour to refer to the letter-book from Bantam, Java, referred to on pages 7, 8 and 63 of the Hand-book of the Bombay Government Records

"2 This record appears to have been left in Surat, possibly by mistake, in the circumstances stated on pages 7 and 8 of the above. I would recommend that it should be transferred to the India Office for the following reasons

"3 There is no other record from Java or any part of the East Indies or Further India in the Bombay records. In the India Office records, on the other hand, there is a collection of records from Bantam of the same period as the letter-book in question, *i.e.*, the 17th century. The letter-book in the Bombay Record Office covers the years 1679 to 1683. In the India Office records there are Abstracts of Letters from Bantam, 1677 to 1682, and from Tonquin, 1682 to 1689 (the book in the Bombay Record Office includes letters from Tonquin). There are also "Bantam Consultations, etc.," 1670 to 1702, and Transactions between the English and Dutch Commissioners, 1684 to 1686. See the "List of Factory Records of the last East India Company" of the India Office, 1897, page 35.

"4 The Bantam book has been in the headquarters of this Presidency for over 2 centuries, and has a certain romantic value here as a practical illustration of Surat's former connection, through the East India Company, with the East Indian Archipelago. But it seems that this consideration should be overborne by other considerations. A written record like this is not a mere museum specimen. It is some thing to be studied and used. Now, in Bombay this record is unlikely to be put to any use. Extracts from it have been published already in Forrest's Selections,

Home Series, Volume II, among other extracts from miscellaneous records in the Bombay Record Office India has no particular interest in the former English settlements in the East Indian Archipelago, and it is not likely that any person interested in the early history of Java or Tonquin will come to Bombay to study this one letter-book. The student of records, whether he be English or Dutch or French, or of whatever nationality, will naturally consult the records in the India Office on the subject, and that, I submit, is where this letter-book ought to be. That is, indeed, the natural place for such a record, just as Bombay is the natural place for the originals of the records formerly kept in Factories in what is now the Bombay Presidency, which are in the Bombay Record Office. On the closing of Factories, their records were evidently taken away to headquarters.

"5 Perhaps the advice of the Indian Historical Records Commission might be taken on the point, though I do not know much about that body."

It was decided that there was no objection to the Bantam Letter Book being transferred to the India Office if it was required there for useful purpose, that a letter to the India Office should be written on the subject and that the Bombay Government should be informed.

VII.—Appointment of a small Committee to examine cursorily the Peshwa's Daftar, before its contents are hand-listed.

The following note by Mr G S Sardesai of Baroda was considered —

"1. Need of inspecting the Poona Daftar of the Peshwas.

"The materials for the history of India (1700-1800) are yet mostly hidden from students and scholars and only a few individuals, here and there, are making an uphill effort for collecting, preserving and publishing them. All these efforts require to be co-ordinated and supplemented by Government Agency. Professor Jadunath Sarkar has just brought out, in a handy form, the valuable articles of the late Mr Irvine covering the period 1707-1720 and is, I learn, engaged in the preparation of the next volume 1721-1738. I am myself weaving into a connected story, the huge Marathi materials that have so far been published by various individuals and societies in the Deccan. But by far the largest storehouse of such materials is what is known as the Poona Daftar of the Peshwas. It is not sufficient merely to have thrown open this Daftar to scholars and students. In the first place to read, understand and sift old papers is a work, which only a few trained experts can do. Few competent men can be found willing to come forth to do this unpaid voluntary work at Poona, paying daily visits during office hours from the city to the Camp, where the Daftar is located. Although the Daftar has been looked into and arranged by Government Agency, this has been done more with a view to departmental needs than the requirements of historical research. My acquaintance with the outside papers so far

published by private agencies inclines me strongly to hope that very valuable documents must be existing in the Poona Daftar and will yield profitable results, if properly examined under expert guidance. For instance, I have studied all existing published papers about the famous battle of Panipat and am strongly of opinion that Peshwa Madhav Rao I held an exhaustive inquiry about the conduct of the various individuals on that fatal field and the papers of that inquiry must exist somewhere. Nana Fadnavis, too, seems to have kept full records of the inquiry about the murder of Peshwa Nanyan Rao. These and similar papers, if made available, would materially alter many an accepted historical view. Hence a thorough inspection of the Poona Daftar by experts is highly essential, in order to supply one main complement of the history of the 18th century, the other complement being the imperial Mughal records, which are being worked up by Professor Sarkar. As owners of the Poona Daftar, it behoves Government to institute such an examination at their own expense, and not to delay this task by putting it on the shoulder of a few casual visitors, working at their convenience.

"2 Cursory inspection by a small committee of experts."

"By way of a beginning, therefore, I would humbly suggest the appointment of a small committee, say, of three gentlemen, two from the Commission and one outside expert from Poona, who should make a cursory inspection of the Poona Daftar for a week or so and report about the steps that would be necessary in case a fuller examination be considered advisable. This initial expense will not be much."

In connection with this note it was pointed out that the Commission in their last meeting had recommended the hand-listing of the Daftar without further delay by competent scholars and that the resolution had been brought by the Government of India to the notice of the Government of Bombay.

The following resolution was passed :—

With reference to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay's speech at the opening of the third meeting of the Commission held at Bombay in which His Excellency spoke about the information to be furnished by the Director of Public Instruction, the Commission begs to point out that the Director of Public Instruction has sent it no communication on the subject. It begs to enquire how far the Bombay Government has advanced in this matter.

In this connection the Commission ventures to suggest for the consideration of the Government of Bombay the desirability of consulting experts in Maratha history (like Rao Bahadur D. B. Patasnis and Mr. G. S. Saidesai) as to the best method of dealing with the Peshwa's Daftar, so that a hand-list of these records may be prepared in such a way as to assist historical students.

VIII.—Steps to be taken for co-ordinating all scattered efforts of collecting materials for Indian history.

The following note was considered —

Mr G. S. Saundesai has suggested that all scattered efforts of collecting materials should be co-ordinated. His specific recommendations are—

- (i) that properly established societies like the Bharata Itihasa Mandala of Poona be asked to send a representative for the sessions of the Commission,
- (ii) that all Indian States be requested to inform Government what sort of old material they have in their possession and whether they need any expert help for sifting, preserving and publishing it,
- (iii) that private individuals may be induced to make over to Government any historical papers they may have in their possession for better preservation,
- (iv) that Professor Sarkar and other experts should be assigned different spheres of work and that they should also train and employ experts and report result of search to the Commission

In connection with this subject the following circular letter from Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan was also considered —

“The need of a historical association that will co-ordinate the work of the Provincial Historical Societies is felt by all research scholars at the present time. The admirable work done by the Punjab Historical Society, the United Provinces Historical Society, the Calcutta Historical Society, deserves nothing but praise, and the days are not far distant when the most important records of all the provinces of India will be made accessible to all historians

Unfortunately the ignorance of the vernaculars, the parochial outlook of some of us, and the lack of a central organisation that could pool the resources of these vigorous bodies, and place them at the disposal of all historical research scholars, militated against the growth of Historical Scholarship. An excellent beginning has been made by the institution of the Indian Historical Record Commission, and the invaluable work performed by this vigorous body has already influenced the course of historical researches. I think, however, that it can never take the place of an all India Historical Association, embracing every form of document, and organising them into a coherent and consistent whole. The Association should perform the same functions that the Royal Historical Society performs in Great Britain. It deals with a variety of material, in a variety of ways, and it appeals not only to the archivist as such, but also to the sociologist, the student of political theory, and other investigators

The Indian Economic Association is only a few years old, but it has accomplished admirable work within comparatively short period. This is due partly to the close connection of the Central Association with the Provincial Economic Associations. I should be grateful if you could let me know whether there is

any prospect of a Central Historical Association being formed in the immediate future I shall be very pleased if you could let me know whether you approve of the project. The essential thing is the approval of the principals, details can be discussed later on."

With regard to the proposal for the formation of a Historical Association it was decided that the President should address a circular letter to the various Universities and learned societies drawing their attention to the proposal and suggesting that the initiative should be taken by Universities on the subject and that the question of representation of historical societies on the Association should be decided after the Association had been formed.

The following resolution was passed —

That this Commission recommend to the Government of India the desirability of its requesting the Indian States to inform the Commission as to the nature, date and extent of the old historical materials (prior to 1850) in their respective archives, and also whether they need any expert help for the purpose of sifting, preserving, and publishing the same.

IX.—Creation of Record Department in the United Provinces and the appointment of a competent Record Officer there.

The subject was included in the agenda at the instance of Dr Shafaat Ahmad Khan

It was pointed out at the meeting that the United Provinces Government had already taken action in the matter.

The Commission was of opinion that the creation of a Record Department will considerably assist historical research in the Province.

X.—Place and date of the next meeting.

It was decided that this should be settled by the Secretary in consultation with the President.

Report of the Rev. H. Hosten, S. J., of St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, on his visit to Mylapore, Pondicherry, etc., in connection with the preparation of a history of Jesuit Missions in Bengal.

Object of the Tour.

The object of my tour, as explained in *Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings of Meetings*, Vol III, Third Meeting held at Bombay, January 1921 (Calcutta, 1921), page 64, was to collect materials for the historiographer of the Jesuit Missions in Bengal, whose work was to appear in Belgium in 1921

The Indian Historical Records Commission kindly undertook to recommend to the Government of India the granting of my travelling expenses, on the understanding that I would submit to the Commission a Report on the results of my journey

These results I consider to have been more successful than I had anticipated, not only and chiefly at Mylapore, but at Pondicherry. At Mylapore, in addition to securing the primary object of my visit, I discovered in connection with the St Thomas question as rich a field for future research as might well fall to any student of history. At Pondicherry, the Archives of the Catholic Mission and of the Town kept me hard at work for a full week. And, since the Commission had stipulated that my journey should not extend beyond six weeks, I flatter myself that I could hardly have done more work during so short a period than I did.

The papers I copied were received by our historiographer, the Rev Fr H Josson, S J., Brussels, within a month of my journey, in ample time for revising his work in the light of the new materials supplied to him. The result was that his work appeared before the end of the year. I have the honour of presenting to the Commission a copy of his valuable study, the outcome of ten years' labour. *La Mission du Bengale Occidental ou Archidiocèse de Calcutta (Province Belge de la Compagnie de Jésus)*. Bruges, Imprimerie Sainte-Catherine, 12, Quai Saint-Pierre, 1921, 2 vols 8vo, XVI—496 pages and XII—480 pages, 12 maps and plans in the text, 6 folded maps, and 76 plates containing 275 illustrations¹. The portion on Bengal from 1517 to 1840 comprises in Vol I, pages 44 to 191. The Rev H Josson, S J., has published moreover a list of 157 Jesuit Missionaries who came to Bengal from 1576 to 1849. This list is contained in *Catalogus Patrum et Fratrum Societatis Jesu qui degerunt vel degunt in Missione Bengalae Occidentalis A die 28 Nov 1859 usque ad diem 1 Jul 1921*. Bruxellis, Typis Van Vinckenroy, 1921 (Appendix, pages 48-59).²

My Report comprises a detailed account of my itinerary, and a description of my activities at Calcutta, Bezwada, Madras, Mylapore, Pondicherry, and Trichinopoly. An Appendix contains a list of documents or collections of documents found at Mylapore, Pondicherry, and Trichinopoly.

¹ Copies can be had from "Mission du Bengale", Collège St Michel, 24 Boulevard St Michel, Bruxelles (Belgium). The price for foreign countries, postage included, is 29 francs. Copies can also be had from "The Catholic Orphan Press," 3 and 4 Portuguese Church Street, Calcutta. Price Rs 10.

² This is not for sale, but the Appendix could be made accessible to historical scholars in some learned review.

ITINERARY.

Jan 13, 1921—Feb. 28, 1921.

- Jan 13 . Darjeeling to Calcutta
 „ 14 . Arrival in Calcutta.
 „ 15-19 . Calcutta Research in the Archives of the Bengal Mission, 32, Park Street, and at the Imperial Record Department
 „ 20 21 . Calcutta to Bezwada
 „ 22 . Bezwada Historical matters referring to Masulipatam and Haidarabad discussed
 „ 23 . Bezwada to Madras
 „ 24 . Madras Madras to Mylapore.
 „ 25-31 . Mylapore Research work in the Archives of the Bishop of S Thomé
 Feb 1-12 . Do do do
 „ 13 . Mylapore to Madras ; Madras to Pondicherry *via* Villupuram.
 „ 15-19 . Pondicherry Research
 „ 20 . Pondicherry to Trichinopoly *via* Villupuram.
 „ 21 . Trichinopoly Historical matters discussed. Trichinopoly to Madras.
 „ 22 . Madras, Mylapore Research, packing.
 „ 23 . Mylapore to Madras, Madras to Calcutta
 „ 24 . Travelling to Calcutta
 „ 25 . Calcutta. Research
 „ 26 . Do. Do
 „ 27 . Calcutta to Darjeeling.
 „ 28 . Darjeeling.

Calcutta.

The week I spent in Calcutta was profitably employed on examining the records of the Jesuit Missions in Bengal. Copious notes were taken and sent to the historiographer of the Mission, the Rev Father H. Josson, S J, Brussels. I did not keep a record of what was copied. The papers sent to Belgium have not been returned yet.

Bezwada.

I stopped one night and part of two days at Bezwada, where I met Father H. Colli of Bezwada and Father H. Pezzoni of Masulipatam. I had been for many years in correspondence with Father Colli on historical matters referring to the ancient Missions of the Haidarabad Diocese. Father Pezzoni, who has taken up Father Colli's succession as historiographer to the Haidarabad Diocese, had come on purpose from Masulipatam for an interview on historical matters. I promised to keep him informed of the results of my research at Mylapore and Pondicherry, which I did. In return for the service, he sent me subsequently an article on an old Church Register of Yanaon, which article I intend publishing in the *Revue de l'histoire de l'Inde française*.

We also discussed Telugu Catholic literature, a catalogue of which I published in the *Catholic Directory of Madras*, 1918. I obtained some additions to my catalogue.

Madras.

At Madras, I discussed with Father A. Saulière, S J, St Charles's High School, Armenian Street, a paper of his, embodying English translations of Jesuit Annual Letters on Malabar (1580—1600). This paper is now being recopied for publication.

Mylapore.

1 —DIOCESAN ARCHIVES AT S THOMÉ

At the beginning of his episcopate, twenty years ago, the present Bishop, Dom Theotónio Vieira Ribeiro de Castro, appointed a Commission of priests to put his Archives in order and draw up a Catalogue of the detached papers. After the papers had been roughly classified by subjects, dates, or places of origin, each paper was given a number, from 1 to 6496, and the members of the Commission received each a large bundle of papers and were requested to make abstracts of them. The numbers of the documents entrusted to each member were carefully recorded. If we consider that nearly 6,500 papers were examined on that occasion, and that not more than 5 or 6 persons were employed on the work, we can but praise the energy of those who consecrated to it the little leisure they could spare from other work.

This preliminary work done, Father F. Durando, the Archivist, compiled from these abstracts and his own checkings a manuscript catalogue of some 700 pages, written in Portuguese. I think, however, that a large number of documents have not yet been summarized and that the catalogue is, therefore, incomplete.

The catalogue follows the numbering originally affixed to the papers. It exhibits on one page, in columns, the name of the writer, the place he writes from, the serial number of the document, the language in which it is written, and the date, on the opposite page, facing, is given a summary, which generally embodies the name of the addressee.

For the purposes of a first effort in one's research work, the catalogue is extremely useful, but it has the great disadvantage of not being chronological. To make it chronological, each entry should be recopied on a separate slip, after that, it would be easy to shuffle the slips into chronological sequence and to number them continuously. This recasting of the catalogue, if it is to prove useful, would, however, involve a chronological recasting of all the detached papers, which would mean that a man having little else to do should be prepared to devote to it at least a year's labour. However, the work would be worth doing, especially as on such an occasion each paper could be provided with a separate cover and, on the cover, a description of its nature. This done, the documents should be kept loose in suitable registers chronologically labelled. At present, the detached papers are mere bundles, rolled up and provided with a ticket indicating the numbers of the first and last documents therein contained.

I went through the catalogue three times. The first time I copied fully all references to Bengal and Burma but a number of other entries, which were of interest to me, also found their way into my manuscript. My extracts cover 114 pages. This work took a week and a half. As I went along, I noted also the numbers of documents, referring to different places in India, which would interest friends bent on similar research. I went through the catalogue a second and a third time to make sure that nothing of value had escaped me.

Before I came to Mylapore I had been told that the Archives (which ought to date from the erection of the Bishopric in 1606) begin only in 1781, all earlier documents having been either destroyed or carried off by the soldiers of Haidar Ali about 1780, in an attack on the town. My study of the catalogue showed, indeed, that only a few papers are earlier than 1780, and that there are no original papers of the 17th century. The prevalent notion of the Fathers, several times expressed to me during my stay, is that the earlier papers might be in the possession of the Nawab of Arcot. If the papers still existed, what a treasury of information left untouched!

I copied also a list of 61 registers of collected documents (pages 15). See Appendix A.

After that, I ought to have examined and copied some of the documents themselves but the vast number of papers referring to Bengal alone, the fatigue of the former work, and chiefly the fact that the search would have involved a thorough upsetting of the Archives, that it ought to have been conducted during inconvenient office hours and at great personal discomfort to the archivist and his assistant, also the impossibility of procuring a copyist or typist able to read French, Latin, and Portuguese papers, were insuperable deterrents. Besides, for the purposes of our historiographer in Belgium, it was hoped that the summaries of the documents would provide sufficient guidance. He had at his disposal, moreover, J. H. da Cunha Rivara's *A jurisdição diocesana de Meliapor*, 1867, based on the Archives of Mylapore, which da Cunha Rivara studied on the spot (1858).

I desisted, therefore, the more so as my short stay had convinced me that the remaining week and a half should be devoted to investigations of even greater

moment than the history of a four-centuries old Indian Mission. I mean the story of St Thomas the Apostle and his traditional connection with San Thomé, Mylapore. Accordingly, during the rest of my stay, I explored by day the old sites of Mylapore, taking notes, archaeological, historical and bibliographical, and copying inscriptions of the Portuguese period in all the old Mylapore Churches, in the evening I studied the Registers of Madre de Deos Church, where the Jesuits had been at work from 1575 to about 1750.

2 —ST THOMAS AND S THOMÉ

The first week, during rare intervals of distraction, I had discovered in and around the Cathedral a number of Christian lithic remains dating from before the Portuguese occupation. Among these stones I must mention one, bearing, above Ionic capitals, a medallion of a Persian King and another of a Persian Prince; another stone represented on one side St Thomas, on the other a figure designated locally as Kándāpa Raja (Gondophares?). I found also 3 Greek crosses, 1 Maltese cross, 2 beautiful pillars of Greek design with winged angel-heads, an unexplained stone-chest (an altar?) of Christian provenance, and a huge stone-basin (either a baptismal font or a holy-water stoup), in the floor of the Cathedral, a portion of an inscription, the date of which has been fixed as about 1118 A.D., elsewhere, a Sanskrit-Grantha inscription of about the same period, containing the name of Mayilāpura (Mylapore) or 'Peacock-Town', finally, at Madre de Deos Church, a stone lintel with a Greek cross and two peacocks worshipping it.

On Thursday, February 3, at the request of the Bishop, I paid a visit to Mr A. H. Longhurst, the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey Department, Southern Circle, and interested him in my finds. The next day, he came to inspect them, pronounced them highly important, partly Greek in character, and, hearing that the Bishop would not object to having excavations made on the site near the Cathedral, he said he would examine the site after the rainy season of 1921.

The following Monday and Tuesday, Mr Longhurst sent me most obligingly his photographer. The afternoon of those two days was accordingly spent in taking two dozen photographs at the Cathedral, Madre de Deos Church, Little Mount, and the Luz Church.

For more than a fortnight Mr Longhurst also placed at my disposal one of his men for taking rubbings of pre-Portuguese and Portuguese inscriptions. These rubbings were afterwards photographed by the Archaeological Survey Department, and the rubbings and two sets of photographs (65 photographs per set) were sent me for the purposes of study.

From May to the end of September I have translated some 300 pages of materials on Mylapore and St Thomas. I have also written 200 pages of what should become eventually a book on St Thomas and S Thomé. On July 27, I began publishing weekly in the *Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, tentative articles on my findings. These articles are eliciting corrections and additions from the St Thomas Christians in Malabar. Measures have been taken to get translated into English a volume on St Thomas and the Malabar traditions by the Rev Father Bernard of St Thomas, T.O.C.D. This work, published in Malayalam in 1917, and filling about 500 pages, would be of the greatest service to scholars, as the whole question of early Christianity in Malabar is there reviewed.

in the light of archæology, native records, and tradition. Finally, the Superintendent of Archaeology for the Travancore Government has promised me to devote his attention during his next tour to the lithic remains and inscriptions of the Christian Churches in Malabar.

At Mylapore I also found the literary remains of Bishop Medlycott, the author of *India and the Apostle Thomas*, 1905. I brought with me part of what referred to St Thomas. This has now been copied. The Bishop's correspondence with W. R. Philipps, which I left at Mylapore, will also be copied.

I expect that the St Thomas question will keep me busy for two years more. In December, January and February 1921-1922, I hope to return to Calcutta, where at the Goethals Indian Library (St. Xavier's College), under the Portuguese section, I could double my materials. Next, in 1922-23, I should go to Mylapore, where about 50 more photographs should be secured, and to Malabar, where I ought to study old Churches, traditions and customs. Lately, a number of early Christian litanic relics, in the shape of crosses and inscriptions, have been unearthed on the site of two or three old Malabar Churches. I am afraid, however, that for want of financial assistance this new journey to Mylapore and Malabar will have to be abandoned.

3 — MADRE DE DEOS CHURCH.

Madre de Deos Church, Mylapore, having been for two centuries under the management of the Jesuits, I made a study of the three oldest Baptism Registers (4th January 1789—6th September 1816, 10th August 1817—9th March 1848, 15th March 1841—24th December 1872). By means of these registers I determined the incumbents and the time of their incumbency from January 1789 to May 1853. The oldest marriage register goes from 27th November 1819 to 7th November 1883, the oldest register of burials from 12th July 1818 to 28th December 1885.

These registers contained also some valuable historical notes by Padre Mariano Luis Ribeno, who styled himself repeatedly a Jesuit, though apparently he was not a Jesuit. They contained also autobiographical musings and instructions about coconut-gardening, by the same Padre, who was in charge of Madre de Deos from February 1830 to May 1853, when he died. All these notes I copied (47 pages foolscap), and I intend publishing them in a historical review of Goa, the language being Portuguese.

4 — INSCRIPTIONS FROM S. THOMÉ AND MYLAPORE.

In addition to the inscriptions of which rubbings were made, I copied all the other inscriptions of the Cathedral, St. Rita's Convent (now the S. Thomé High School), Rosary Church and St. Anthony's Church, Luz Church, Descango Church, Little Mount, St. Patrick's Church, and the Church on Great Mount, also the inscriptions in the small Church of England Cemetery near the house of the Bishop of Madras (S. Thomé), and all the inscriptions of the mixed Mylapore Cemetery. No fewer than 400 or 500 inscriptions were thus obtained.

5 — A FRENCH-TAMIL DICTIONARY

From the Vicar of the Luz Church I bought at my own expense for Rs 100 a manuscript folio volume containing a French-Tamil Dictionary, which the Vicar

had bought for one anna at the sale of some of the books of the late Bishop Stephen Fenelly of Madras (? 3rd May 1880). This dictionary, a volume of some 800 pages divided in 2 columns, is written on strong paper in a beautiful hand, the work of a copyist. It is excellently preserved, and, as the antique spelling shows, was compiled by a French Jesuit, presumably of the Carnatic Mission, who declares anonymously that he had been more than 20 years in India and had almost forgotten his mother-tongue. I think the work can be shown to have been composed by Father de Bouzes, S J.

I took the volume with me to Pondicherry, where, at the Mission Press, I found an incomplete copy of the same work written by the same copyist, but without columns. The volume accompanied me next to Trichinopoly, where I was told that no copy of such a dictionary existed in the Madura Mission Archives.

I have sent to the *Revue de l'histoire de l'Inde française* the preface of the work and some specimens of the lexicon, so that Tamil scholars in Europe, where other copies probably exist, may help us in determining the authorship conclusively.

The Madura Mission was offered to buy the book, as the offer was not accepted, the dictionary has been deposited in the Indian Academy Library of St Mary's College, Kurseong, where it may obtain recognition at the hands of some of the theological students from Southern India.

6 — CHINSURAH MARRIAGE REGISTER

On my return from Trichinopoly to Mylapore, having still a day to spend at Mylapore, I examined a Marriage Register from Chinsurah (Bengal), 1768-92, determined the incumbents and the time of their incumbency, and copied some documents, inserted at the end, belonging to 1680, 1689, 1722, 1728, 1757, 1805, 1806. I had, however, no time to finish. These extracts, now translated, would form a suitable appendix to my former work on the Registers of Bandel (Hugh) and Chinsurah published in *Bengal Past & Present*.

7 — MYLAPORE PAPERS ON BURMA.

After my return to Darjeeling, I compiled with the notes taken from the Catalogue of the Bishop's Archives, Mylapore, a chronological index of the papers concerning the old Burma Missions. This index will be found in Appendix A III b.

Pondicherry.

At Pondicherry I examined the Archives of the Procure des Missions Etrangères de Paris, and the Government Archives deposited in the Bibliothèque Publique.

I — ARCHIVES AT THE PROCURE DES MISSIONS ETRANGERES

These comprise —

1. 16 volumes, large card-board covered registers, containing documents connected chiefly with the Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris and their activities in India and the Far East. Practically every country of the Far East is there represented. China, Corea, Japan, Hong-Kong, Tibet, Tonkin, Cambodia, Siam, Penang, the Maldive Islands, the Nicobar Islands, and Burma. Some 20 years ago, all these papers were taken to France by Father Launay, the historian of the

Société He classified them, had them bound, and returned them to Pondicherry with a catalogue, the fascicles of which cover, however, only Vols 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11. This catalogue is very succinct for the papers of some of the volumes, it does not record the places whence the letters were despatched.

From these 16 volumes I copied more than 100 foolscap pages, mostly letters from the Vicars Apostolic of Bengal (1834—1860), and sent them to the historian-grapher of the Bengal Mission, the Rev H Josson, S J, Brussels, who received them in time to revise his work by means of them. These papers have now been returned and are with me.

2 In addition to the above 16 volumes I was shown a bundle of old papers which once belonged to the Jesuits of Pondicherry (18th century). Some of these I was allowed to take with me to Darjeeling. I have copied —

- (a) *Extrait de diverses lettres écrites par le [Conseil] de Chandernagor au Conseil Supérieur de Pondicherry au sujet de l'aumônerie de Chandernagor.*

The original covers 9 pages, my copy runs to 11 pages foolscap.

The extracts refer to letters of 26th November 1730, 17th January 1731, 24th March 1731, 9th April 1731.

- (b) *Mémoire instructif pour répondre à l'écrit du R. P. Pons, Jésuite, Supérieur au Collège de Chandernagor, en date du 23^e juin 1730, en réponse d'un ordre de donner un Père pour coucher à la loge et y faire les fonctions d'aumônier. Chandernagor, 16 mars 1731.*

The document covers 40 pages foolscap of my writing. Very important for the early religious history of Chandernagor from its origins to 1731. I found that Father H Josson, S J, Brussels, to whom I sent my copies of (a) and (b), had already obtained a copy of them from the Fathers of St Joseph's College, Trichinopoly. With these he restored some gaps in my copy.

- (c) Accounts of some monies, due to the Jesuits of Chandernagor, and paid at Chandernagor on December 4, 1778.

- (d) Six letters of Marquis de Villa Puente de la Peña, Mexico (1715-26), a great benefactor of various Catholic Missions in the East, such as Pekin, Macao, the Philippines, Pondicherry, and the Carnatic. Probably, a large number of letters from Missionaries of the above places could yet be found at Mexico, presumably among the descendants of the Marquis.

I copied the Spanish originals of 5 letters, and a French translation made in 1768 by an anonymous translator at Pondicherry, also the French translation of a 6th letter, the Spanish original of which was not found. My copy of these papers was sent to the *Revue de l'histoire de l'Inde française*, Pondicherry, to be published in one of its next volumes.

- (e) Historical notes in French, chiefly on the relations between the French and the English in India.

After some short references to events of 1718, 1725, 1739, 1740, 1751, 1753, the notes become more elaborate. 1755 (1 page), 1756 (3 pages), 1757 (20 pages), 1758 (20 pages), 1759 (2 pages), 1760 (3 pages), 1761 (1 page).

At the end, a reference to de Lally's execution on May 9, 1766

Ends "Le Colonel Coote s'embarqua le 13 mars [1761?] pour le Bengal, laissant son regiment qui devoit le suivre Nous allons reprendre notre narration des affaires du Bengal."

The original manuscript covers 56 pages and has been sent to the *Revue de l'histoire de l'Inde française*, Pondicherry, where it will be published with a facsimile of the writing of the anonymous author, whom I suppose to be Father H de Montjustin, S J, Chaplain to de Bussy's troops

(f) Some shorter papers of lesser importance

3 I must note also that I have on loan here in Darjeeling, since the end of 1918, 2 volumes of the same Archives These contain a number of Sanskrit texts with French translations, also other papers connected with the Malabar Rites

From one of these volumes I have published *Le Bhāgavata, d'après un texte Sen Tamoul Nouvelle traduction de Maridas Pouille de Pondichéry (1793-95)* Edité par le Père H Hosten, de la Compagnie de Jésus. Pondichéry, Société de l'histoire de l'Inde française, Imprimerie Moderne, Pondichéry, 1921, pages I—XLIV, 235, and 3 full-page illustrations

The other documents in these two volumes, minus the Sanskrit texts, were nearly all copied by myself in 1919, 1920. The Sanskrit texts of the original manuscripts occupy one side of the leaves and are transliterated in Roman characters after the pronunciation of Bengal, facing the Sanskrit texts are the French translations These texts assume falsely the titles of the four Vedas, to each of the four Vedas there are sections entitled Shākhā, Karmaveda, and Upaveda All these texts are in the form of dialogues, one of the dialogists exposing at full length some point or other of Hindu doctrine or practice, and the opponent, an Indian *monotheist*, next refuting it

The manuscripts contain portions of the *Ezour-Vedam* (Yajur-Veda), about which there has been no little commotion in Oriental circles since 1761, in Voltaire's time, but, whereas the *Ezour-Vedam* printed at Yverdon in 1778 contains only 8 books, the Pondicherry manuscripts of the *Ezour-Vedam* must have originally contained 42 books.

These Pondicherry manuscripts were studied by F Ellis in 1816, but his article, published after his death in *Asiatick Researches*, Calcutta, Vol XIV, 1822, pages 1—59, is so misleading that it has served as the basis for accusing of dishonesty the Jesuits in general, and Father de Nobili in particular My surmise, after studying the printed *Ezour-Vedam*, and before I saw the Pondicherry manuscripts, was that Father A Mosac, S J, of Chandernagor, who about 1742 had studied Sanskrit at the University of Nadia, obtained the Sanskrit texts in Bengal, and, in view of their interesting controversial nature, transliterated and translated them But, as his name nowhere appeared in the manuscripts, and no signed specimen of his writing could be had anywhere, it was impossible to prove the point conclusively. During my visit to Pondicherry, a few minutes' search in the Cathedral Church registers, where many entries were in Father Mosac's handwriting, showed clearly that all the Pondicherry manuscripts on the Vedas, both transliterations and translations, are by Father Mosac The fact that, at times, he confesses that he does not understand the Sanskrit text, proves also that he is not the author of the Sanskrit texts

I had a photograph made of some of the entries in the Cathedral Church registers, signed by Father Mosac, and, as I have photographs of parts of his translations, even the most exacting critics will be able to satisfy themselves as to the identity of the writings. A hideous calumny, which has weighed on the Jesuits since 1822, will now be silenced, it will be shown instead that, ever since 1742, one of their number ought to have been ranked in the fore front of the pioneers of Sanskrit studies.

I made my discovery public in the *The Catholic Herald of India*, a weekly journal of Calcutta, June 29, 1921, pages 499—500. See also some objections raised on my paper in the same journal, July 27, 1921, pages 577—578. These objections, made by Father J. Castets, S.J., Trichinopoly, may be answered at some future date. What remains of Father Mosac's writings—for large portions still existing in 1816 have been lost—would be worth publishing in the interests of the history of early Sanskrit studies. The French translations would fill 3 or 4 volumes of about 400 pages, the Sanskrit texts would fill 2 other volumes; and there ought to be one volume on the history of the manuscripts.

4 Since I have mentioned the Church Registers of the Cathedral, Pondicherry, I should like to record that the Registers shown me comprised Baptisms of 'Tamoujers,' 1699-1769 (Vol. 1), 1769-88 (Vol. 2), 1800-1820 (Vol. 4), 1841-57 (Vol. 6), baptisms of 'Valangai,' 1781-1806, 1807-42, 1842-54, marriages of 'Tamoujers,' 1785-1842, of 'Valangai,' 1842-64. As the older baptism registers, Vol. 2 (1769-88), answered the purpose of my enquiry, I did not examine whether other volumes not seen existed.¹

II — GOVERNMENT ARCHIVES.

I easily gained admission to the Government Archives. Mr Edmond Gaudart, the moving spirit of the Société de l'histoire de l'Inde française, had obtained for me the necessary permission, and Mr A. Singaravélou, the Conservateur des Anciennes Archives, made my visits to the Bibliothèque Publique, where the Archives are housed, as pleasant as possible.

Though I went 3 or 4 times to the Bibliothèque, and spent there 2 or 3 hours at a stretch in the afternoon, I could do little more than examine the manuscript catalogues. At my request, and for the purposes of this Report, Mr A. Singaravélou was kind enough to draw up a list of the various catalogues. The mere list will show that the Archives are exceptionally rich. They reach back to the foundation of Pondicherry as a French settlement. See Appendix B.

Among documents entered in Catalogue No. 5, I selected some which Mr A. Singaravélou obligingly copied for me. They are —

1. *10th October 1752*.—Compte d'arriérages dûs aux R. R. P. P. Jésuites de cette colonie pour un contrat en leur faveur passé au greffe de Chandernagor.
2. *23rd April 1776* — Copie d'une lettre du Vicaire desservant de la cure de Chandernagor à l'Evêque de S. Thomé, relative à l'arrivée des Capucins Italiens, Missionnaires à Chandernagor, pour y établir un Hospice.

¹ *Karikal* — One of the Fathers of Pondicherry, formerly at Karikal, told me that the baptism registers of the Karikal Church go back to the 17th century, the marriage registers and other old papers are in the Town Archives, Karikal.

3. *15th February 1778*.—Lettre de Mr. le Chevalier à Mr. de Bellecombe, Gouverneur Général à Pondichéry, relative à l'arrivée d'un vaisseau anglais avec un Missionnaire Jésuite espagnol, nommé le Père Laureiro, accompagné d'un mandarin de la 1^{re} classe
4. *1st January 1779*—Etat actuel des registres des baptêmes, mariages, et sépultures de la paroisse de S. Louis de Chandernagor¹
5. *11th April 1784*—Protestation du Père François, curé de la Paroisse de S. Louis de Chandernagor au sujet de la vente des terrains des pauvres
6. *5th November 1818*—Lettre de Mr Ravier à Mr J. Dayat, Intendant Général, relative à un jardin & [sic] provenant de la succession du Père Raphael

Trichinopoly.

HISTORICAL PAPERS ON THE MADURA MISSION

About 25 years ago, the Jesuit Fathers of the Madura Mission procured at great expense from different parts of Europe photographic facsimiles or copies of an enormous number of documents pertaining to the history of the Jesuit Missions in Southern India (Ceylon, the Fishery Coast, the Coromandel Coast, the Madura country, Travancore, Vijayanagar, Malabar, and the Carnatic) By means of these documents, the late Father L Besse, S.J., wrote *La Mission du Maduré* (Trichinopoly, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1914), a voluminous work, which, for completeness and accuracy of details, supplants all previous histories of the Mission This work is an important one, not merely from a religious point of view, but also for the political history of the country.

It was Father Besse's ambition that some day all the materials accumulated by the Mission be published *in extenso* For fully 20 years he laboured assiduously, deciphering and translating the documents in his possession A number of short papers published by him reveal the wealth of information which he had at his disposal At his death he left a large pile of manuscripts, which would be of the greatest interest, if an editor could be found for them Rather, why not revert to the original plan, and compile a series either with the original documents or, better, with translations of them, or both?

The documents belonging to the Madura Mission are divided into three sections, for each of which there exists a catalogue

No 1—Catalogue of documents at St Joseph's College, Trichinopoly

No 2—Summary of documents made by the Rev. Father H Quinn, S.J. (21 fascicles)

¹ This was copied for me by Mr E Gaudart's daughter, and appears as an Appendix in my *Les Registres de Chandernagor. Second Article (1818-1900)*, in *Revue historique de l'Inde française*, Quatrième Volume, 2^{me} Partie, 1920, Pondichéry, pages 93—114 The first article appeared in Troisième Volume, 1919, pages 97—166 of the same review For a review of my two articles see *Revue de l'histoire des Colonies françaises*, Paris, 1921 (IX^e Année, IV^e Trimestre), pages 297—299

The next item in the catalogue after entry No 4 was "Divers documents en langues orientales" I hoped they might be papers by Father A Mosac, S.J., but the documents were missing in the Archives

No 3.—Documents photographed by the Rev. Father H Quinn, S.J., or to be photographed This third section contains no fewer than 1,943 papers

Our Appendix C is the catalogue referred to under No. 1

I am told that the translations of Father L. Besse comprise —

1 All the Annual Letters in his collections, *ie*, 65. The translations fill 12 copy-books of 190 pages each

2 The letters of Archbishop Ros, and of Fathers de Nobili, Vico, and Laerzio

3 Others, relating to de Nobili, the question of the Carmelites in Malabar, and Syro-Malabar affairs at Cranganore (1600—1666)

I am told that he translated some 300 private letters, that his summaries of Annual Letters fill 700 pages, and that the translated documents on Bishop Ros and Cranganore occupy 800 pages

Father L. Besse also compiled a Biographical Dictionary containing biographical and bibliographical notices on the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus in India (1542—) I have with me a Biographical Dictionary compiled by him, in which all the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus who laboured in the Madura Mission up to the end of the 18th century are noticed This study, which would fill about 200 pages in print, forms a sequel to Father L. Besse's *Liste alphabétique des Missionnaires du Carnatic de la Compagnie de Jésus au XVIII^e Siècle*, published in *Revue historique de l'Inde française*, 2^e volume, 1918, Pondichéry, pages 175—242 These biographical notes on the Madura Missionaries, being written in French, will, we trust, be welcomed by the Société de l'histoire de l'Inde française.

APPENDIX A.

Diocesan Archives of San Thomé.

I — LIST OF COLLECTED DOCUMENTS

By "Collected Documents" I understand bound volumes of documents.

No	Date of beginning	Origin	Nature
1	15th July 1753	S Thomé Cathedral	Baptisms at the Cathedral (1753-1843)
2	22nd May 1772	" "	Marriages at the Cathedral (1771-1888)
3	——— 1780	S Thomé Mission, Mylapore	Correspondence and Regulations of the Augustinians (1780-1835)
4	3rd April 1784	S Thomé Diocese	Sundry historic correspondences on the administration of the Diocese (1784-86)
5	27th December 1787	Sadras	Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials at Sadras (1786-1808)
6	14th May 1784	S Thomé Diocese	Provisions and oaths (1784-90)
7	17th April 1789	" "	Correspondence of Fre Manuel de Jesus Maria José, etc (1788-1838)
8	7th November 1790	Pulicatte Church	Burial tariff and burials at Pulicatte (1790-1813)
9	4th December 1761	" "	Marriages at Pulicatte (1792-1818)
10	6th October 1789	S Thomé Diocese	Acts of episcopal visitations (1789-1805)
11	1st May 1789	" "	Provisions, etc
12	27th May 1791	" "	Correspondence (1791-1800)
13	22nd April 1810	Bengal	Correspondence and regulations concerning Bengal (1809-57)
14	—— August 1852	S Thomé Diocese	Receipts and expenses of the Diocese (1852-62)
15	4th August 1853	" "	Pastorals, Decrees, and administrative correspondence (1853-66)
16	29th November 1828	" "	Provisions and correspondence concerning the Diocese (1828-38)
17	2nd January 1822	" "	Receipts and expenses of the Diocese (1829-42)
18	2nd May 1772	S Thomé Cathedral	Receipts and expenses of the Cathedral (1772-1807)
19	3rd November 1862	S Thomé Diocese	Varios officios e correspondencias with the ecclesiastical authorities (1862-78)
20	1st May 1878	" "	Orçamentos e folhas comparativas feitas por M ^{to} Rev A. Thomas do Silva Leitão e Castro, Visitador das Missões Portuguezas, para a administração dos bens da Mitra (1878-86)
21	11th November 1813	Covelong Mission	Burials at Covelong (1816-66)
22	26th September 1813	" "	Baptisms at Covelong (1809-65)
23	6th September 1800	S Thomé Diocese	Provisions for mixed marriages (1800-65)
24	4th August 1823	S Thomé Cathedral	Burials from S Thomé Cathedral (1823-75)
25	8th January 1874	S Thomé Diocese	Matricula do clero diocesano e congruas fixas por Rev B. F. Amarante (1874)

No	Date of beginning	Origin	Nature
26	6th April 1873	Bengal Mission	Pareceres da Comissão dos fundos da Missão de Bengala (1873-78)
27	1st September 1826	S Thomé Diocese	General inventory of the Bishopric (1826)
28	3rd September 1859	Bengal Mission	Pastorals, circulars, and decrees on the administration of the Bengal Mission (1859-78)
29	12th March 1805	S Thomé Diocese	Requerimentos e despachos por Rev Fr José da Piedade, Governador Episcopal (1805)
30	29th June 1844	Bengal Mission	Pastorals, provisions, etc., of the Archbishops of Goa and Bishops of Melapor for the Mission of Bengal (1844-56)
31	— November 1862	S Thomé Diocese	Receipts and expenses of the Diocese (1862-69)
32	30th June 1880	" "	Acts of the administrative Commission of the Diocese (1881-86)
33	1st July 1883	" "	Bulls, Briefs, Pastorals, Provisions, and Portarias of the Ecclesiastical Authorities (1883-84)
34	3rd January 1852	" "	Correspondence on the probate of Felix Joaquim's will ¹
35	19th November 1883	" "	Correspondence from the Ecclesiastical Authorities (1883-86).
36	— May 1890	" "	Diary of the expenses of the Diocese (1890-91)
37	No date	" "	Blank
38	25th October 1764	Archdiocese of Goa	Regimento do auditorio do Arcebispo Primacial da Gon
39	1st July 1787	S. Thomé Diocese	Bull of erection of the Diocese of Melapor, and sundry documents and letters on the administration of the Diocese (July 1757-1862) ²
40	7th February 1831	Luz Church	Correspondence on the Luz Church ³
41	24th September 1838	S Thomé Diocese	Letters from the Vicars Apostolic of Madras and Pondicherry, claiming the Churches of S Thomé, with answers and protests.
42	— 1805	Great Mount St Thomas	Inventory of the Church of Great Mount (1805)
43	7th August 1799	S Thomé Diocese	Provisions, circulars, etc (1800-61)
44	19th November 1819	" "	Fundo actual da Diocese pela morte do M ^{to} Rev Fr José de Graça em 1819
45	— 1843	" "	Receipts and expenses of the Diocese (1843-48)
46	— September 1848	" "	Receipts and expenses of the Diocese (1848-53)
47	14th August 1819	" "	Receipts and expenses of the Diocese (1819-23)
48	— January 1824	" "	Receipts and expenses of the Diocese (1824-28).
49	— August 1824	" "	Inventory of the properties of the Diocese (1824)

¹ In English. Registers of which the language is not specially mentioned are in Portuguese,
² In Portuguese and English.
³ In English

No	Date of beginning	Origin	Nature
50	— February 1792	S Thomo Diocese	Receipts and expenses of the Diocese (1792-1807)
51	— 1869	" "	Receipts and expenses of the Diocese (1869-78)
52	30th September 1848	" " .	Correspondence (1848-60) ¹
53	13th November 1848	" " .	Appontamentos da Comissão Ecclesiastica de S Thomé de Meliapor (1848-49)
54	27th September 1825	" " .	Registo do Hospicio de S Domingos em Meliapor (1825)
55	6th May 1798 .	" " .	Assentos de satisfação das penções e esmolas das Missas (1798-1824)
56	9th February 1790 .	" " .	Certidões de Missas (1790-1836)
57	31st July 1826	" " .	Inventario dos bens e alfaias do Convento de S Rita em Meliapor (1826)
58	25th March 1870	" " .	Appeal for subscriptions for the completion of the College and Seminary, by the Rev B F Amarante
59	— June 1878 .	" " .	Receipts and expenses of the Diocese (1878-81)
60	28th April 1879 .	" " .	Provisões e officios do M ^{to} Rev A Th da Silva Leitão e Castro (1879-82)
61	— January 1790 .	St John's Church, Madras	Names of the Members of the Confraternity of O L of Mount Carmel in St John's Church, Madras ²

¹ English and Portuguese² English The rest of this Catalogue contains 36 entries of volumes (English and Portuguese) about Sir John de Monte's estate

II — CATALOGUE OF THE DETACHED PAPERS

The Catalogue consists of 30 fascicles, the numbers of the entries running from 8 to 6496. The blank entries of certain numbers show that the corresponding papers are missing.

No of fascicle	First and last entry	Blank	Remarks in Catalogue
1	8-781 .	1 8, 782 791	
2	792-888 .		
3	889-1099 .		
4	1200-1380 .	1100-1199	To be added Nos 1100-1199 [Not seen]
5	1381-2056 .	1369-1380, 1387-1389, 1660-1669, 1800-1834, 1922-1930.	To be added Nos 1800-1834, 1922-1930 [Not seen]
6	2057-2099 .	2066, 2078 (omitted)	
7	2100-2380 .		
8	2381-2999 .	2531 2539, 2825 2828, 2831 2840	
9	3000 3229 -	3201 3220	
10	3229 bis 3392	3351	

<i>No of fascicle</i>	<i>First and last entry</i>	<i>Blank</i>	<i>Remarks in Catalogue</i>
11	3393 3532		
12	3533-3672	3601, 3602	
13	3673-3980		Documents 3701-3730 were not numbered and issued to the Commission
14	3981-4033	4024-4033, 4034-4040	
15	4041-4196	4180, 4196 4199	
16	4200-4395	4226, 4227, 4396-4399	
17	4400-4556	4400 4415, 4548-4564	
18	4565-4735	4565-4569, 4590 4618	
19	4736-4918	4862-4882	
20	4919-5180	4920-4960, 5131-5161, 5180	
21	5181-5324	5181, 5200 5210	
22	5325-5515	5410-5451	
23	5516-5567		
24	5568 5785	5680-5705	
25	5786-5903		
26	5909-6044	6041	
27	6045 6181		
28	6182 6302	6293	
29	6309 6478	6357-6376, 6386	
30	6479 6496		

III.—ENTRIES FROM THE CATALOGUE OF DETACHED PAPERS

We shall note under this heading *a*, the references we have found to the Missions in Bengal, *b*, the references to Burma, *c*, other references to different parts of India. We must state, however, that except for Masulipatam, Great Mount St Thomas, Little Mount, and the Luz Church, we did not make it a point to be exhaustive: hence, those who would desire to explore the archives ought first to make a thorough study of the Catalogue

a—Bengal

The 1st column shows the number of the document and of the entry in the Catalogue, the 2nd, the language in which it is written (E.=English, F=French, L=Latin, P.=Portuguese), the 3rd, the date, the 4th describes its contents as shortly as possible

12	P	31st August 1848	Information on the Mission properties in Bengal
81	P	5th February 1900	The Superior of Bengal asks the Bishop of Cochín to send a priest to Tescão, where the presbytery is to be rebuilt
82	E	3rd September 1841	Will of Dr Clemente Francisco dos Anjos in favour of the Tescão Church
651	E	19th September 1878	Loan of Rs 16,000 at 6 per cent. taken from Bengal for the S. Thomé Seminary
828	P	27th May 1775	A layman to the Vicar of Calcutta about some property left to the Church
895	E	P	Copy of Mrs Griffith's will, giving Rs 10,000 for a Church at Baithakhana, Calcutta
2031	P	3rd March 1846	P ^{re} J. A. Gomes complains of some persons

2032	E	5th March 1845	S (?) D'Souza recommends P ^c Gomes as a fit person to end difficulties at Bandel
2033	P	2nd February 1845 . . .	P ^c Agost Gomes announces his arrival in Calcutta and complains of some persons
2034	E	?	Extract from Mrs Grace [Elizabeth]'s will
2035	E	4th January 1845	S (?) D'Souza complains of some priests Cf also No 2041
2036	P	5th April 1845	P ^c A Gomes writes about P ^c Joaq das Neves Videira
2037	P	1st February 1845	Fre J Correa complains of two priests Cf also No 2040
2038	P	18th July 1845	P ^c A Gomes has received his nomination as Vicar General
2039	P	2nd June 1845	P ^c M. Brandão asks leave to go to Portugal
2042	P	5th July 1845	P ^c A Gomes has complied with his Superior's orders as regards the Calcutta clergy
2043	E	11th April 1845	L D'Silva states that P ^c Correa has had an attack of cholera
2044	P	11th April 1845	P ^c de N S das Neves Videira announces death and burial of the Provisor
2045	P	3rd June 1845	Fre J A Gomes wishes to be relieved of the charge of Provisor
2046	P	8th February 1845	Fre M Brandão to the Bishop
2047	P	?	Fre J A Gomes, Fre A de Graça's executor, has been directed by the Government of Goa that Rs 8,000 due to the Convent of Bandel by the D'Souzas revert to the Government, since the Convent has become extinct —P ^c Mello not desirable in the Mission, unless he restores the Church which he has occupied
(a)			
2047	P	10th April 1845 .	Fre Philippe A da Costa announces death of Fre J de Correa, Provisor
(b)			
2048	P	10th April 1845 .	Fre Joaq de Maria announces death of Fre J. de Correa, Provisor
2049	P	?	Fre Joaq das Neves asks for an increment
2050	P	4th May 1845 .	Fre J A Gomes has accepted the charge of Vic Gen, Provisor and Vicar of Bandel, Hughli
2051	P	4th April 1845	Fre Francisco de Assis acknowledges Fre J A Gomes as Prior
2052	P	8th February 1845	Fre Brandão, Vicar of Nagory, says that the case of 2 Fathers is pending
2054	P	9th February 1845	Fre Francisco de Assis announces his arrival in Calcutta
2055	E	9th April 1845	Will of Fre João Correa, late Provisor
2056	P	20th July 1845	Fre José Gomes writes about Bathakhana Church
2057	P	10th April 1845	Fre J das Neves announces the death of the Provisor.
2058	P	10th April 1845 .	Fre J das Neves announces the arrival from Goa of a new priest for the Bathakhana Church
2059	P	21st April 1845	Fre M Brandão says that Frs Albano and Ambrosio should not be sent to Dacca and Nagory
2060	P	3rd March 1845 .	Fre F de Assis sends a small present to the Bishop Elect
2061	P	7th May 1845	Fre A Gomes, Prior of Bandel, says that the Convent can ill afford the upkeep of a Friar residing there
2062	P	2nd June 1845	Fre A Gomes asks for permission to establish an English Bengali school at the Bandel Convent
2063	E	12th May 1845 .	The Christians of Nagory complain of P ^c M Brandão
2064	P	——— 1845 . . .	P ^c Brandão submits receipts and expenses at Nagory (1st April 1844—end of March 1845)
2065	E	13th March 1841 (1844?)	Agreement between the Superior of Bengal and others Augustinian Friars as to a sum of Rs 6,000 and other properties
2067	P	2nd November 1841 .	Fre Simão, Superior, announces the death of Fre Botelho and asks for 2 priests, but not Oratorians though they speak English

2068	P	17th August 1841	Fre M. Brandão on certain disagreements with the Vicar Apostolic of Calcutta
2069	P	18th July 1841	Fre M. Biandão acknowledges Dom A. Tristão of Meliapor as his legitimate Superior.
2070	P	18th July 1841	Fre Lourenço submits to Dom A. Tristão against the Vicar Apostolic
2071	P	19th July 1841	Fre Botelho on the disagreements with the Vicar Apostolic re the Nagory properties
2072	P	8th June 1840	Fre Joaq da V Maria asks to be appointed Vicar at Bathakhana instead of the late Fre A. d'Assumpção
2073	P.	2nd June 1840	L de Souza announces Fre A. d'Assumpção's death and recommends Fre Joaq da V Maria to the vacant post
2074	P.	20th January 1839	Fre A. d'Assumpção offers good wishes to the Episcopal Governor.
2075	P	7th June 1836	Fre Joaq Rebello seeks an appointment in one of the Churches of the Diocese.
2076	P	2nd February 1836	Fre A. d'Assumpção expects an answer to a former letter about the affairs of his Church
(a) 2076	P.	9th March 1835	A. de Souza asks for Bengal able English speaking priests
(b) 2077	P	10th February 1836	Fre A. d'Assumpção says that the Padroadists are looked upon in Calcutta as schismatics
2079	E	3rd June 1836	Bishop Rob St Leger invites L. and A. d'Souza to a conference on religious matters
2080	E	29th October 1835	Fre Ant d'Assumpção has received the decree through the Vicar-Apostolic of Calcutta
2081	L	27th October 1835	Bishop Rob St Leger promulgates the decree of Propaganda declaring that the Church of Calcutta and Bengal belongs to the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic
2082	P	P	A. D'Souza has received a letter from Goa.
2083	P	14th January 1835	Messrs D'Souza & Co have sent a cheque of Rs 550 to Dom Teixeira, Bishop Elect of Meliapor
2084	E	14th January 1835	Messrs D'Souza & Co inform Charles Croke (P), Banker, that they have drawn a cheque of Rs 550 against Charles Cookerill & Co, in favour of Fre Ant da Virgem Maria Teixeira
2085	P	3rd August 1835	James Rostan informs the Episcopal Governor of S Thomé that he has won his case in Calcutta
2086	P	14th February 1835	Fre João de S Maria, Vicar of Bathakhana, asks for copies of Pontifical Bulls
2087	E	14th July 1835	Messrs. de Souza on the difficulties arising from the arrival of Propaganda Missionaries
2088	E	14th January 1835	Messrs de Souza have paid Rs 550 to Fre A. da Virgem Maria Teixeira
2089	E	20th April 1835	A. de Souza on Padroado questions
2090	P.	10th August 1835	Fre A. d'Assumpção, Vicar of Dharamtala, on the state of his parish
2091	E	14th January 1835	Messrs de Souza recommend to Messrs Hockburn & Co, London, Fre A. da V M. Teixeira, who goes to Portugal.
2092	P.	28th October 1835 (1834 P)	Fre A. d'Assumpção announces the arrival of the Vicar Apostolic
2093	P.	15th October 1835	About the Augustinians and the Vicar Apostolic of Calcutta.
2094	P.	23rd December 1835	About the Augustinians and the Vicar Apostolic of Calcutta
2095	E.	14th January 1835	Messrs de Souza & Co request Messrs Charles Cookerill & Co. to pay £300 to Fre A. da V M. Teixeira
2096	P	12th January 1835	About the Augustinians and the Vicar Apostolic of Calcutta

2097	P	7th July 1834	Fre A d'Assumpção sends Rs 200 for masses
2098	P	20th February 1834	Mrs Pascoa Barretto de Souza informs Fre A d'Assumpção that the Archbishop of Goa and the Bishop of Melapor allow the blessing of her Church at Dharamtala
2099	P	14th March 1834	Fre Joaq da Virgem Maria states there have been 4 mixed marriages and 13 dispensations from banns between October 1832 and December 1833
2100	P	26th March 1834	Fre A d'Assumpção on the Church of the S Heart founded by Mrs Pascoa Barretto de Souza
2101	P	22nd February 1834	Fre A d'Assumpção asks for instructions on certain matters regarding the Mission
2102	P	22nd February 1834	Fre A d'Assumpção asks again for leave to bless the Church at Dharamtala
2103	P	22nd November 1834	Correspondence between Fre A d'Assumpção and the Vicar Apostolic
2104	P	6th October 1834	Fre A d'Assumpção to the Episcopal Governor on a permission to be obtained from the Vicar Capitular of Goa
2105	P	6th October 1834	Fre A d'Assumpção announces the arrival from Coromandel of the Vicar Apostolic and 5 Jesuits
2106	P	1st February 1834	Fre A d'Assumpção says he is much perturbed at the coming of a Vicar Apostolic and asks for leave to open to public worship the Church built by Mrs de Souza.
2107	P	13th February 1834	Fre A d'Assumpção on the Church built by Mrs de Souza
2108	P	20th February 1834	Mrs P Barretto de Souza applies for permission to bless the Church she has built at the cost of Rs 1,08,000, and for permission to open it to the public
2109	P	7th January 1873	Fre F d'Assis promises to contribute to the building of the S Thomé Seminary
2110	E	21st August 1872	W E D'Souza, Calcutta, sends Rs 50 for the S Thomé Seminary
2111	P	7th July 1872	The Superior of the Mission says that, as the late Fre Antonio has died without heirs, his goods belong to the Portuguese or English Government
2112	E	19th February 1872	P ^c B F Amarante sends power of attorney to defend the Begam's case ¹
2113	E	27th June 1872	J Moses states to the Superior of the Mission that, as he has documents in Arabic, it is unnecessary to have recourse to the court (Cf No 2112)
2114	E	23rd January 1872	The Master of St John Chrysostom's School, Baithakhana, refers to the school funds
2115	P	19th November 1871	Fre F d'Assis, Superior, says that Fre Antonio has left Rs 25,000, the interests of which are to be applied to the repairs of the Churches of Bandel, Chinsurah, and Serampore Fre Antonio and Fre Francisco de Guia have left Rs 8,000 (now Rs 21,000) to the Convent of Mae de Deos of Dangim, old Goa, which was suppressed shortly before Fre Antonio's death at Serampore
2116	P	4th March 1871	The Superior of the Mission deals again with the same subject as in Nos 2111 and 2115
2117	P	7th March 1867	Fre F d'Assis treats of certain difficulties that have arisen
2120	P	4th January 1860	P ^c Fortunato de Souza, Vicar of Dacca, to the Episcopal Governor
2121	P	8th March 1860	P ^c Fortunato de Souza, Vicar of Dacca, to the Episcopal Governor
2122	P	P	P ^c Gomes, Superior, complains of P ^c Ben Pinto of Tesão

¹ The Begam of Sardhana (P)

2123	P	10th March 1860	P ^e Gomes, Superior, states that P ^e A. Gouan has been declared insolvent
2124	P	9th December 1863	P ^e Bento asks to be changed
2125	P	7th December 1862	P ^e Gonsalves, Vicar of Hashnabad, subscribes to the <i>Mylapore Chronicle</i> from January 1863
2126	P	19th March 1863	Fre F d'Assis says that some Christians of Calcutta have written a petition to His Holiness
2127	P	13th May 1863	The same sends a copy of the petition referred to in No 2126
2128	P	10th June 1863	The same says that the Archbishop Primate has protested to His Holiness
2129	P	21st June 1863	Fre Agost. Gomes has been allowed by the Archbishop Primate to dispense in matrimonial impediments
2130	P	22nd February 1864	Fre F d'Assis on P ^e Pinto of Dacca
2131	P	5th December 1864	P ^e J (P) Rodrigues to the Episcopal Governor
2132	P	25th November 1864	P ^e G (P) Rodrigues to the same
2133	P	6th November 1864	P ^e G S Rodrigues to the Archbishop Primate
2134	P	5th January 1864	P ^e J B Pinto to the Episcopal Governor Cf. Nos 2120, 2121
2135	P	11th August 1859	P ^e A Gomes to the same
2137	P	12th September 1857	P ^e A Gomes to the same about Father Gouan and Propagandist rumours anent the Concordat
2138	P	25th November 1857	P ^e Fortunato de Souza (to the Episcopal Governor?)
2139	P	14th September 1857	P ^e L de Souza to the same
2140	P	26th August 1858	P ^e A Gomes says that the heirs of Dr Clemente of Dacca have resumed the Tesgão properties and Church
2141	P	29th March 1858	P ^e J A Gomes wants certain documents from Meliapore.
2142	P	7th October 1858	P ^e J A Gomes about the Tesgão Church given to the Calcutta Mission
2144	P	2nd October 1858	P ^e J A Gomes about P ^e Lazaro de Souza and Hashnabad
2145	P	27th August 1858	P ^e J A Gomes asks for his provision as Superior of the Bengal Missions
2146	P	31st October 1857	Pre Lazaro Fort de Souza, copies of his letters from the Camara Ecclesiastica.
2147	P	25th March 1787	Fre Patricio de S José (Calcutta? Burma?) complains to Fre Luis de S Anna about the Christians, owing to the Concordat.
2149	P	25th March 1787	Fre José de S Anna (Calcutta? Burma?) asks Fre Luis dos Remedios for certain wooden objects.
2150	P.	25th March 1787	Fre José de S Anna (Calcutta? Burma?) about the Propagandists (in Burma?)
2348	P	?	The Archbishop of Goa to the Vicar General of S Thomé on Bengal
2350	P	24th July 1878	The same about Rs 16,000 from Bengal for the S Thomé Seminary
2571	P	15th January 1792	Fre José da Graça to the Minister of Marine about the Propagandists
2572	L	4th January 1791	Fre Marco (della Tomba), Chandernagor, cannot help in Calcutta, for want of Missionaries
2573	P	25th February 1791	Fre José da Graça, Calcutta, on Fre Marco's new projects
2594	L	12th December 1797	Fre Angelo, Chandernagor, about Fre Carolo, the Prefect Apostolic of Chandernagor
2664	L	23rd July 1774	Some priests in Bengal receive permission, for 6 years, to confer the Sacrament of Confirmation Cf also Nos 2658, 2679
2667	L	18th September 1773	José Cardinal de Castillo inquires about the expulsion from the Confraternity of the Rosary, Calcutta, of one of its members

2668	L	10th December 1768	The S Congregation of Propaganda requires a census of the faithful
2679	L	2nd May 1763	Pope Clement XIII grants that a priest in Bengal be delegated to confer the Sacrament of Confirmation <i>Cf</i> also No 2683 of 6th February 1763
2681	L	5th March 1768	The S Congregation of Propaganda answers the Bishop of Meliapor anent his report on the Diocese
2682	L	5th March 1763	The same to Fre Bernardo de S Caetano about a mixed marriage
2691	L	28th February 1870	The S Congregation of Propaganda grants to the Augustinians the faculty of the privileged altar any three days of the week — Date incorrect
2696	L	24th February 1744	Pope Benedict XIV grants to the Augustinians the faculty of giving the Papal blessing after a Mission preached in Lent or Advent
2749	P	15th July 1791	Fre Pedro Maria Lanfranki, a Capuchin, writes about the Calcutta Missions
2814	P	26th December 1790	The same wishes a happy feast to the Bishop of Meliapor
2815	P	17th November 1790	The same to the same from Calcutta
2889	P	18th March 1704	The King of Portugal ordains that the Provincial of the Augustinians and the Bishop of Meliapor appoint conjointly the parish priests of the Bengal Churches
2890	P	16th March 1779	Queen D Maria asks for information on the Regulars employed as Vicars
2901	P	16th March 1779	Queen D Maria declares that the Regulars employed as Vicars are subject to the Bishops <i>Cf</i> also No 2906
2903	P	7th April 1774	The King of Portugal reserves to himself appointments to the dignities of Canon, Vicar, Chaplain, etc
2904	P	3rd February 1775	The Governor General of Goa writes to the Bishop of Meliapor about Fre João de S Anna's appointment to Bengal, and difficulties which have arisen in consequence
2905	P	5th March 1775	Queen of Portugal desires information on the Padroado Missions
2915	P	8th January 1845	The Governor General of Goa refers to the Bishop of Meliapor P ^e Blandão's request of returning from Bengal to Goa
2920	P	23rd January 1840	Conde de Bomfim, Minister of Marine, announces that the Holy See will appoint an Archbishop for Goa and Bishops for other Dioceses
2921	P	1st July 1840	The same thanks D Ant Teixeira, Bishop Elect of Meliapor, for obtaining that the High Court of Madras recognise the rights of the Padroado
2924	P	27th September 1841	The Governor General of Goa will sequester the property of refractory priests of the Meliapor Diocese, as he has done for Malabar
2940	P	——— 1749	Correspondence between the Viceroy and the Bishop of Meliapor on the different Churches of the Padroado
2989	P	26th April 1789	The Archbishop of Goa ordains that jurisdiction is not to be granted to Regulars until they have been presented, accepted, and confirmed
3001	P	26th May 1787	Leão de Flor (Bengal) agrees to having her children brought up as Catholics
3032	P	P	Correspondence to be published in the <i>Freeman's Journal</i> on Dr St Leger's pastoral
3072	L	8th March 1732	Correspondence on the Church of Chandernagor
3107	P	P	Letter, unsigned, about the arrival of 3 priests travelling to Bengal and Pegu
3119	P	P	Inventory of the effects of the Rev Caetano d'Assumpção

3199	P.	27th November 1807	Fre Caetano de Saldanha of Masulipatam about a Capuchin, who, on his way to Bengal, conferred the Sacraments at Yanaom
3281	P	25th May 1810	The Bishop Elect of Melapor (Lisbon) recommends for Bengal P ^e Luis Gonzaga of Goa.
3209	P.	21st September 1806	The Bishop of Melapor objects to nominations as Vicars in Bengal made by the Provincial of the Augustinians.
3302	P	16th September 1806	The same on the same subject
3303	P	2nd May 1804	D Lourenço, Apostolic Nuncio of Lisbon, grants that mass be said in Sr Luis Barretto's private Chapel (Bengal).
3439	P.	11th April 1836	Royal decree abolishing the Religious Orders and confiscating their properties
3448	F	P	Description of the Diocese of Melapor by D Fre Manuel de Jesus Maria José. Cf. also Nos 3441, 3449 3455, 3458
3479	P	23rd April 1799	The Archbishop of Goa forwards to the Bishop of Melapor complaints against the clergy of Calcutta.
3537	P	19th February 1779	Fre José de S Joaquim, Goa, about Fre Manoel de S Alpio, who is appointed to Bengal
3539	P	24th February 1779	Fre José das Onze Mil Virgens, Prior of Bandel, Hugh, on the appointment of Fre Caetano de S José as Vicar Prior of Bandel
3540	P	22nd December 1778	Fre José de S Joaquim, Provincial of the Augustinians, Goa, to the Bishop of Melapor relates the death of Fre Theodoro, Provincial, on December 6, 1778, and requests that, to avoid conflicts, the two jurisdictions in Bengal be united
3543	P	12th March 1784	Instructions to the Definitor Fre Manoel de Jesus, when he went as Visitor to Bengal
3544	P	15th May 1784	The Provisor to the Visitor, Fre Manoel de Jesus, about Fre Agostinho da Penha de França, etc Cf. also 3541, 3545
3554	P.	29th March 1779	The Archbishop of Goa will forward to the Bishop of Melapor documents proving that Bengal always depended on Melapor.
3561	P	20th June 1776	The same to the same about some Friars who went to Bengal
3564	P.	9th March 1778	The same to the Vicar Provincial of the Augustinians, forwarding the Queen's decree restoring to the Augustinians all the Missions of which they had been deprived
3566	P	3rd April 1777	The same to the Bishop of Melapor about Bengal
3567	P	8th May 1778	The same to the same about a priest going to Melapor or Bengal
3581	P	27th June 1778	Fre José Guilherme, Calcutta, to P ^e Antonio de Souza
3582	P	18th June 1788	The same, Calcutta, to friends about his arrival at Gutes (F)
3583	P	27th July 1788	The same, Calcutta, complaining that something has been written against him in a newspaper
3584	P	20th May 1780	Anonymous to — (P) wishing him a happy journey to Bengal, and success in his ministry
3585	P	18th May 1786	P ^e Francisco dos Prazeres has received certain letters of 1650 (P)
3586	P.	18th May 1786	The same to Fre Manoel de Jesus, Superior of the Melapor (P) Mission, about the Mission
3652	P	— June 1811	Jubilee published in Calcutta and Bengal
3846	P	12th October 1865	The Archbishop of Goa announces to P ^e B F. Amarante his arrival in Calcutta
3979	P	28th November 1864	About Seebpur (P)
4046	F	2nd April 1791	P ^e Ferdinando says that P ^e Vicente is gone to Bengal

4118	P	25th September 1730	Fre D'Assumpção, Vicar da Vara, Calcutta, asks for wardens and the necessary statutes
4146	P	3rd September 1838	D Ant Teixeira's pastoral requiring that only the Padroado be acknowledged
4151	P	2nd April 1844	About P ^e Albano, Coadjutor at Baithakhana, Calcutta
4160	P	26th October 1852	P ^e A Gomes, Vicar General of Bengal, communicates the circular of the Episcopal Governor
4166	P	14th August 1857	P ^e Lazaro Fortunato de Souza appointed Vicar of Tesgão
4208	P.	1st May 1755	L da Costa Cravo, Bengal, writes to P ^e Caetano d'Assumpção about the great need of building another Church
4233	P	6th December 1818	Fre José da Graça, Episcopal Governor, writes to the Bishop of Melapor that the Europeans who supported P ^e Vicente Ferrer do not wish him to return to Calcutta
4321	P	30th June 1817	The same forbids the Superior in Bengal to mix himself up with civil matters
4344	P	3rd November 1809	The Episcopal Governor on the building of a new Church at Baithakhana Cf also Nos 4345, 4346
4354	E	31st January 1803	Fre José da Piedade, Governor, tells the Portuguese Consul, Calcutta, that to grant the privilege of a private Chapel belongs to the Holy See
4439	P	12th April 1812	Don Francisco Ferreira de Azevedo, Bishop Elect of Melapor, recommends Fre Ant da Graça for Calcutta
4526	E	12th August 1838	Mr M Coom (Cones?), Calcutta, asks for copies of subscription lists
4527	P	25th October 1833	Fre J V M about the Church of Baithakhana built by Mrs Grace Isabel
4528	P	1st October 1833	Fre Ant, da Assumpção, Calcutta, on the Baithakhana Church Cf also his letters of 1833, Nos 4529 39
4540	P	22nd March 1833	Fre Simão da Conceição thankful for his appointment as Prior of Bandel, Hugli
4541	P	9th April 1832	Fre Ant d'Assumpção has spent Rs 6,000 belonging to the Convent (of Bandel) and Rs 6,000 of his own
4542	P	1st November 1832	The same states that a Committee of 20 has been appointed in Calcutta
4543	P	22nd May 1832	The same about Fre Mariano da Assumpção
4544	P	28th January 1832	Fre Simão da Conceição says that the Commissary will be appointed Vicar of the Baithakhana Church
4545	P	15th November 1831	Fre Ant d'Assumpção asks for permission to refute the Ball of Fre Paulo, the Capuchin.
4546	P	6th September 1831	The same about the affairs in Calcutta
4547	P	16th August 1831	" " " "
4568	P	31st January 1832	" " " "
4569	P	12th November 1832	" " " "
4570	P	24th March 1831	The same about the election of wardens. Other letters of his for 1831 under Nos 4571-76, 4578 79
4580	P	12th December 1831	The same on Fre Paulo, a Capuchin in Calcutta, who is bent on extinguishing the Padroado
4581	P	12th January 1831	Mrs Pascoa Baretto de Souza, Calcutta, wishes to endow a Church of the S Heart
4582	P	3rd January 1830	James Rostan, etc, on the new wardens
4583	P	20th January 1830	The Episcopal Governor's answer to James Rostan
4584	P	24th November 1830	The old wardens to the Episcopal Governor Cf also Nos 4585-88, 4620 22
4589	P	17th December 1830	The Episcopal Governor to the wardens of N S do Rosario, Calcutta
4700	P	31st July 1782	J Z Kiernander on the Catholics of Calcutta
4824	F	3rd August 1789	(P ^e) O'Meighan, Calcutta, to the Bishop of Melapor
4825	F	28th November 1789	The same, Calcutta, to the same.

5128	P	3rd July 1824	E Lazaro, Calcutta, on the marriage of James William with Leonora de Monte Cf also No 5129
5294	P	14th April 1809	Mrs Grace Elizabeth wishes to build a Church at Baithakhana Cf also Nos 5296, 5298-5307 (all letters of 1809)
5308	P	31st July 1813	Permission asked by Bandel for erecting an altar to the B V M
5311	P	15th January 1811 (P)	About the Baithakhana Church Cf also Nos 5312 21 (of 1809, 1810, 1812)
5322	P	30th April 1816	P ^e F Prazeres, Prior of Bandel, asks for permission to build a Church at Dacca, the Tesgão Church being now deserted
5323	P	P	Jos Barretto to the Episcopal Governor, asking for some favours
5324	P.	24th May 1807	P ^e F Prazeres (Chinsurah) on mixed marriages, publications of banns, abstinence, etc
5325	P	11th March 1807	The same about the wardens of Calcutta
5326	P	21st March 1807	The same on sundry affairs at Calcutta
5327	P	14th February 1807	The same on similar subjects
5328	P	17th March 1807	J Barretto about the Provisor and the wardens
5329	P	2nd May 1807	The same on the same subject
5505	P	———— 1868	The Archbishop of Goa has authorised the Superior in Bengal to subscribe towards the Seminary of S Thomé
5547	P.	22nd February 1866	The same A priest from Bengal seeks service on the Madras side The Rev Mr Gouran is condemned by the Calcutta Courts to pay Rs 14,472-2-2 to the Superior of the Bengal Mission
5612	P	5th December 1834	Protests of the Governor of the Diocese against the Vicar Apostolic of Calcutta
5665	L P	15th October 1835	Mgr Robert St Leger communicates the decree of Rome about the Calcutta Mission
5666	E	27th October 1835	A D'Souza gives news about Calcutta.
5768	P	22nd February 1808	Jos Barretto to P ^e Graça, the Governor of the Diocese
5769	P	11th December 1808	P ^e Franc dos Prazeres to the Governor of the Diocese
5771	P	24th June 1826	Fre Ant d'Assumpção (Nagory) about the Provisor's death
5772	P	P	Fre Ant de S Maria to the Governor, Fre de Ave Maria
5776	P.	6th January 1831	The wardens of N S do Rosario, Calcutta, about Fre Ant de S Maria
5777	P	13th August 1818	Fre Manoel de S Thereza writes from Calcutta.—[Torn]
5785	E	30th April 1847	Will of Albert Gonsalves of Calcutta
5795	P	———— 1786	Fre Manuel de J M J, about to leave for Bengal, appoints Fre Luis de S Anna as Governor of the Diocese
5808	P	17th November 1802	Thomas Mello and Fre José da Piedade about Fre do Cenaculo
5857	E	P	J O'Meighan to unknown addressee
6029	E	19th September 1829	The wardens of Calcutta against the provision of the Episcopal Governor
6030	P	29th September 1829	The Provisor's order to acknowledge the wardens.
6031	P	28th September 1829	The old wardens against the new wardens
6032	P	———— 18.9	Election of a Vicar and wardens in Calcutta
6033	P	———— 1829	Election of a Vicar for 3 years in Calcutta Cf also Nos 6034, 6036-40, 6042-51, 6078-88, 6090 96, 6296, 6298-99, 6304 6306, 6308, 6309 14 (of 1829, 1831)
6106	P	6th August 1855	The Vicar Capitular of Goa on Propagandist encroachments in Bengal

6132	P	17th January 1811	The Archbishop of Goa orders the Governor of the Meliapor Diocese to go to Calcutta and settle certain points
6241	P	17th October 1845	The same on the Padroado, P ^e Albano, etc Cf also No 6232 (of 1845)
6307	P	?	Thomas de Souza announces the death of the Provisor Fre Manuel de S Anna
6221	E	—1838	Will of Clemente Francisco dos Anjos, Tesgão
6457	E	?	The Court decrees that the Church of Shibpur belongs to the Portuguese Mission

6—Burma

1749—The Marquis de Alorna, Viceroy, to the Bishop of Meliapor Corre spondence about the different Christian settlements of the Padroado—No 2940 Portuguese

25th July 1750—A recommendation on behalf of Mrs Legau [Legan?]—No 4223 French (As this document is found among others referring to Pegu, it may have something to do with Burma)

24th December 1750—Letter of Fre Luis do Espirito Santo, complaining that Dom Paul Nerini, a Propaganda priest, takes the title of Vicar of the Kingdoms of Ava and Pegu and declares in Church that he alone has jurisdiction in those Missions, he asks that, to avoid these disorders, the Bishop of S Thomé should send a Visitor or Vicar General—No 4204 Portuguese—At No 4205 a copy of the same letter

17th July 1756—Pegu Attestation by five witnesses that Ricardo Pollen (Pollen?), against whom there were complaints, is not a married man—No 5809. Portuguese

23rd December 1763—Rome Bull of Pope Clement X forbidding that any one should accept the appointment of Vicar General or Vicar da Vara or Visitor, etc, in order to exercise jurisdiction in the countries entrusted to the Vicars Apostolic of China, Cochín-China, Siam, Cambodia, and others of the East Indies—No 4224 Latin

3rd May 1767—Rome Copy of a Brief obtained from Pope Benedict XIV. by Mgr Dom Pio Gallizia—No 4220 Portuguese

Dom Pio Gallizia was killed in the political troubles of March 1745 (Cf *Storia del Cristianismo nell' Impero Barmano*, by P Luigi Gallo, Milano, 1862, Vol III, p 159) H. nephew, who bore the same name, died at Monla towards the end of 1761 (*Ibid*, p 162)

20th June 1767—Letter of Dom Bernardo, Bishop of Meliapor, recognising Fre José da Rainha dos Anjos as parish-priest of the whole Christianity of Pegu, Ava and Siam—No 4217 Portuguese

23rd August 1767.—Rome Brief appointing Father Gerard Missionary Apostolic.—No 4222 Latin

There is question of Father Gerard Cortenovis, consecrated Bishop at Meliapor on February 2, 1780 He had arrived at Bombay by the 11th of May 1766 and reached Burma in the beginning of 1767

14th January 1768—Rome Letter allowing the Vicar Apostolic of Pegu to appoint Missionaries who will perform parochial duties only under his sole dependence.—No 4216 Latin.

5th January 1769—A letter of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, Rome, approving the doings of the Vicar Apostolic of Pegu—No 4211. Latin

2nd July 1769—Letter of the Bishop of Pegu about the question of jurisdiction.—No 4213 Latin.

10th October 1769.—Letter about the question of jurisdiction in the Kingdom of Ava—No 4213 Latin

29th December 1769—Letter of Mgr Peter Brigot, Vicar Apostolic of Siam about jurisdiction—No 4214. Latin.

7th April 1774—The King of Portugal Copy of the King's letters which reserve to His Majesty the appointment of dignitaries, canons, parish-priests and beneficed chaplains Copy of the Bulls erecting the Dioceses of Goa and Malacca, and the Pielacy of Mozambique—No 2903 Portuguese

28th January 1775—Father Mathon states that, according to the decision of Pope Clement XIV, the Missionaries are not allowed to use in the Missions the privileges of their order.—No 4523 Latin

3rd February 1775—Dom José Pedro da Camara, Governor General of India, informs the Bishop of Meliapor of the difficulties that have arisen in Bengal on the occasion of the appointment of Fre João de S. Anna as Missionary.—No 2904 Portuguese

5th March 1775.—José Paulo d'Almeida, Secretary, sends to the Archbishop of Goa an order from Her Majesty the Queen of Portugal requesting information on different points regarding the Padroado Missions—No 2905. Portuguese.

[1776]—Rough draught, apparently by one of the old Bishops of Meliapor, about the usurpation of the churches by the Missionaries of Propaganda, in Pegu, Pondicherry, etc, in 1776.—No 3754. Portuguese

28th August 1777—Hava [Ava]—Informando que P^e D Therardus depois da morte do Vigario Apostolico de Hava, chamará a se e deixará constituido Procurador da Missão, etc [sic].—No 4172 Latin

(This description of the document as given by the Catalogue of the Mylapore Archives is mostly unintelligible)

The Padre Dom Therardus here mentioned is Gherardo Cortenovis

29th January 1778—Rome—Cardinal (?) Borgia writes to Dom Bernardo de S Cajetano, Bishop of Meliapor, about consecrating as Bishop of Ava Dom Therardus, of the Congregation of Regulars of St Paul, Bishop Elect and Vicar Apostolic of the Kingdom of Ava—No 4171 Latin

Dom Therardus is Dom Gherardo Cortenovis

16th March 1779—Queen D. Maria asks for information about the Regulars employed as parish-priests.—No 2890 Portuguese

16th March 1779—Sebastião José de Souza sends a copy of the *alvara* in which Her Majesty the Queen declares that the Regulars employed as parish-priests are not exempt from the Diocesan Bishops, but subject to them—No 2901. Portuguese

30th March 1779.—José Paulo d'Almeida, Secretary, forwards a copy of the Queen's letter ordaining that, in keeping with the doctrine of Theologians and Jurists, the Regulars may not exercise in the Dioceses the functions of parish-priests without the permission of the Ordinaries of the Dioceses—No 2906. Portuguese

20th December 1784—Fre José de S. Anna says he has received letters patent whereby he was appointed Almoner for the Holy Land—No 4702. Portuguese.

As Fre José de S Anna writes from Rangoon on the 22nd November 1786, it is possible that the above document emanates from Burma On January 18, 1797, he writes that he has been 13 years on the Mission

12th March 1784—Instructions given to the Definitoi Fre Manoel de Jesus [Maria José] when he went to visit the Mission of Bengal—No 3543. Portuguese

5th October 1785—Negapatam—Answer by Padre Antonio do Rosario about the Mission of Pegu, etc—No 4670 Portuguese (See also No 4671)

7th May 1786.—The Archbishop of Goa writes, in answer to the Episcopal Governor of Melapor, complaining of the deplorable state of the Dioceses in the East—No 5428 Portuguese

— *1786*—Fre Manoel de Jesus Maria José, Governor of the Bishopric of Melapor, before going to Bengal, entrusts the government of the Diocese to Fre Luis de S Anna.—No 5795 Portuguese

January 1786—Rangoon—Fr Marcello writes to the Very Rev Governor of the Bishopric of Melapor about a Father who has come from Malacca after giving some trouble there—No 5659 Latin

Father Marcello is Marcello Cortenovis who was in Burma from 1772 to 1802

28th March 1786—Rangoon—Letter of Fre José de S Anna to Fre Luis dos Remedios asking for certain papers from the Bishop of Melapor showing what powers he has in that Mission—No 4520 - Portuguese

22nd November 1786—Rangoon—Fre José de S Anna speaks of certain difficulties created by some Fathers of Propaganda who have lived at Rangoon—No 4511 Portuguese (No 4512 may also have reference to Burma)

No date.—Anonymous—Unsigned letter announcing the arrival of three Fathers bound for Bengal and Pegu—No 3107 Portuguese

In 1776 three Missionaries, Don Pasquale Fantasia of Florence, a secular priest, and two Barnabites, Padre Gian Maria Mazzucbelli of Milan and Padre Luigi Grondona of Milan, arrived in Burma The first left the Mission in 1777, the second died about the middle of 1781, and the third died in Ava in 1823, aged 77 years There can therefore be no question of these three in the next document.

22nd December 1786—Rangoon—Letter of Fre José de S Anna to Fre Luis dos Remedios announcing that the three Friars have apostatised—No 4521 Portuguese

22nd March 1787—Rangoon—Fre Francisco—Fragment of his letter in which he says that the Religious have become disobedient, and that on this account they have been expelled from the dominions of Portugal—No 2160. Portuguese

25th March 1787—Calcutta [*sic*].—Fre José de S Anna, in a private letter to Fre Luis dos Remedios, asks for some wooden objects, etc.—No 2149 Portuguese

This letter and the next two are probably dated from Rangoon

25th March 1787—Calcutta [*sic*]—Fre José de S Anna relates the difficulties with the Propagandists, on account of the oral concession of Pope Clement XIII—No 2150 Portuguese

25th March 1787 — Calcutta [*sic*] — Fre Patricio de S José complains of the Christians to Fie Luiz de S. Anna, on account of the concordat — No 2147. Portuguese

28th May 1787 — Pegu — Fie Patricio de S José, Visitor of Pegu, gives to Fre Manoel de Jesus Maria e José, Episcopal Governor of the Diocese of Melapor; his reasons why after three warnings he has suspended Father Marcello Contenovis — No 2185 Portuguese

8th October 1787 — Antonio de Souza and others, merchants of Madrastra, assent, at the request of the Bishop of Melapor, that many ships go every year from Madrastra to Pegu and that therefore His Lordship can visit those Missions of Pegu and Ava, whenever necessary — No 2998 Portuguese.

22nd October 1787 — Melapor — Fie Patricio writes to Fre Manoel de Jesus Maria José to complain of the Propagandists and their 'despotism.' — No 2181 Portuguese

2nd November 1787 — Pegu — Padre (*sic*) José de S Anna complains of some Fathers of Pegu to the Episcopal Governor, Fie Manoel de Jesus Maria José — No 2187 Portuguese

8th February 1788 — Fie Patricio, Visitor of the Missions, gives a short history of the Portuguese Missions of Pegu or Rangoon usurped by the Propagandists. He also describes the doings of the Propagandists — No 2237 Latin

8th March 1789 — Letter of Bishop Cajetan, Vicar Apostolic of Ava and Pegu, saying that the Bishop of Melapor is Bishop *ad honorem* of Ava and Pegu, and that the jurisdiction belongs to himself alone — No 2808 French

Mgr Gaetano Montegazza, of Milan, a Barnabite, consecrated at Vercelli Bishop of Massimianopoli, 12th December 1786

8th March 1789 — Letter of Fre José de S Anna, Missionary of Pegu, to the Bishop of Melapor, about the Padroado — No 2806 Portuguese

28th March 1789 — Letter of Cardinal Antonelli to the Bishop of Melapor, stating that he has sent a Visitor to the Missions of Pegu and Ava and relating whatever has happened there during the vacancy of the Bishopric of Melapor — No 2807 Latin.

8th April 1789 — Dom Martino de Mello e Castro — Letter from the Minister of Portugal to the Archbishop of Goa about the questions of the Padroado. — No 5427. Portuguese

26th April 1789 — The Secretary, S José de Souza, forwards a circular from the Archbishop of Goa, ordaining that, conformably to the Royal decree, no jurisdiction should be granted to the Religious before they have been presented, accepted and appointed to the place where they have to exercise it — No 2959. Portuguese

6th January 1790 — Rangoon — Letter of Fre José de S Anna to the Bishop of Melapor, giving an account of the Missions of Ava and Pegu. — No 2816. Portuguese

6th March 1791 — Fre Jose de S Anna, a Missionary of Pegu (Rangoon), asks for the Holy Oils, he hopes that [the addressee] will come on a visit to that Mission and says that the Christians are much pleased at the news. — No 2575. Portuguese

The addressee is probably the Bishop of Mylapore

25th September 1791 —Pegu —Father José de S Anna acknowledges having received the Holy Oils and asks for a dispensation in a case of illegitimate affinity in the first degree —No 226 Portuguese

15th January 1792 —Copy of a letter from Fie Jose da Graça, Superior of Calcutta, to the Minister of the Admiralty, concerning the affairs of the Propagandists —No 2571 Portuguese

14th August 1792 —The Bishop of Melapor writes to Padre José da Graça, Commissary of the Bishopric of Melapor, that he knows what has happened to him when he sent him on a visit to the Mission of Pegu, etc —No 2761 Portuguese

1st September 1792 - Rangoon —Padre José de S Anna acknowledges having received a letter, and, as the Prelate has ordered him to make peace with the Propagandists, he relates the difficulties he has had with them —No 2757 Portuguese

5th April 1794 —Rome —The Sacred Congregation exhorts the Bishop of Melapor to give the Vicaris Apostolic full freedom in the exercise of their jurisdiction, since his Diocese is so vast that he is not able to provide the necessary Missionaries —No 2677 Latin

10th August 1795 —Pereis referring to the Missions of Ava and Pegu, history of the Italian Propagandist Fathers who went there to take possession of the said Missions during the absence of the Portuguese Fathers —No 3432 Portuguese

18th January 1797 —Pegu —Father José de S Anna says he is 70 years old, has been 13 years on the Mission, and is unable to say Mass except on Sundays and Holy Days, he asks for a Father —No 6224 Portuguese

12th March 1797 —The Bishop of Dolicha ordains Father Ignacio de Brito, Missionary of Pegu, to whom the bishop of Melapor gives jurisdiction, to be a Missionary in Pegu —No 6223 Portuguese

16th November 1797 —Fre José de S Anna, writing to the Lord Bishop of Melapor, speaks of the character and bad conduct of Fre João, Missionary of Pegu, and asks for himself the said appointment of Vicar of Pegu —No 2595, Portuguese

21st August 1798 —The Christians of Pegu complain of the new Missionary, saying that he pays visits to a woman of bad repute —No 6222 Portuguese

25th August 1799 —Rangoon —Father Ignacio de Brito asks for permission to bless sacerdotal vestments, churches and chapels, he requests a Missionary from Tranquebar, and permission to build a church, etc (*Pede faculdade de benzer vestimentos sacerdotaes, egrejas e capellas e Miss^o de Tranquebar pede licenca para fabricar igreja, etc*) —No 6221 Portuguese.

20th February 1809 —Rangoon —Father Antonio de Santa Maria gives an account of his Mission, and alleges his poverty in order to get (*allega a pobreza para ter*) a chalice, a monstrance and other ornaments which he requires —No 6219 Portuguese

20th April 1809 —Rangoon —Father Antonio de S Anna [Maria?] asks that the addressee should get arranged and provided with glass a small box for the Holy Oils. —No 6220 Portuguese

12th January 1815 —Rangoon —Father Ignacio de Brito gives an account of his Mission —No 6217 Portuguese

30th March 1821 —Rangoon —Father Ignacio de Brito states that, owing to the death of Fre Antonio, Vicar of Tacalé, Rangoon, he has, at the request of His Majesty the King of Burma, taken over the Church and property of the deceased, he asks that a priest, either Franciscan or Goan, be appointed as Missionary of the said Church —No 6215 Portuguese

28th April 1821 —Rangoon —Father Ignacio de Brito announces the death of Fre Antonio de S Maria, and that the Governor of Rangoon honoured with his presence the funeral service, the deceased was buried in the Church of our Lady of the Rosary of Tacalé. He asks that the Episcopal Governor of S. Thomé be informed, so that some one be appointed to take charge of the Church and of the deceased's property —No 6216 Portuguese.

No date (anterior to 1801) —Description of the Diocese of Meliapor by Bishop Dom Fre Manoel de Jesus Maria José.—No 3449 French.—Ditto in No 3451 French

A description of the limits, etc., of the Diocese of Meliapor.—No 3452. French.

A description of the Diocese of Meliapor with a list of its Bishops —No 3453 Portuguese —Ditto in No 3454 Portuguese

c —Other parts of India.

The numbers within brackets indicate the years when the papers were written

Angamale Diocese —3458 (1610)

Arcot —5875, etc

Bangalore.—4020, 5196

Canara —1972, 3442 (persecutions under Tipu Sultan).

Capuchins —Madras 1969 (1803), 1990 (1805).—Thibet Mission 1969 (1803), 2234, 2235, 2597 The Archives are specially rich on the Capuchins of Madras

Carnatic and Mysore —3037, 3038, 4746

Charington, W M.—3006 (died in prison under Haidar Ali before 20th April 1787).

Cochin —2415 (1859), 3458 (1610)

Canganore —2909 (1788), 3441, 3446

Cuddalore and Haidar Ali —5633-34, 5640, 5642-45, 5670-79.

Dindigul —6201-12

Fabr, James Denis, the Rev (S J) —1962 (1802)

Ganjam —4447 (1816)

Garet, the Rev Father (S J.) —2244 (1787).

Guerbaldi, the Rev. Father (S J) —4698 (1784)

Guntoor —2782 (1789), 2783-86, 2300, 2801

Haidar Ali —3459

Jesuits—2650 (1757); 2658 (1757, privileges for Malabar), suppression of the Society of Jesus 3557-58 (1774), 3559 (1775), 4183 (1773), 4195 (1706, Malabar Province)

Kartikal.—1962 (1802), 4178 (1775)

Kumbakonam—4785-97, 4922, 5386

Madras, Fort St George—4202 (1701), 4203 (1701).

———, *Parishes*—1990 (1805), 1993 (1805)

Madura Mission—234, 1519, 1722, 1726, 2909 (1788), 2999, 3000, 3054, 3095, 3171, 3292, 3330-50, 3352-73, 3408, 3639, 3640B-45, 3735, 3762, 3778-79, 3836, 3841, 3994, 4145 (1837), 4169 (1779), 4275, 4420, 4454-55, 4459-64, 4467-70, 4475-87, 4515, 4681, 4694, 4696, 4721-33, 4753, 4782, 5174-76, 5179, 5193, 5453-54, 5462, 5567, 5573, 5590-91, 5648-51, 5744-46, 5748-49, 5758-67, 5890, 6108, 6116, 6145, 6187, 6456, 6474-80

Malabar Rites.—132 (1704, Card de Tournon), 133 (1751, L Mathon), 134 [1717(?) Mgr Francis Lainez], 135 (1739, General of the Jesuits), 136 (extract of letter of Mgr Francis Lainez), 137 (1715, Mgr Cl de Visdelou), 138 (? Superior of the Carnatic Mission), 139 (1750, Bishop of Meliapor against Malabar Rites in Madura and Mysoie), 140 (1724, S Congr of Propaganda requiring observance of decrees), 2690 (1744, Constitution *Omnium sollicitudinum*), 4181 (1774)

Malabar and Tipu Sultan—3665

Manente, the Rev Father (S J).—283 (1813, his will)

Mangalore—5593-96

Marriages, mixed—1963 (1765 and 1802), 2683 (1763)

Masulipatam—2300 (1826), 2633, 2636, 2637, 2779 (1789), 3166 (1791), 3167 (1791), 3169 (1793), 3172 (1853), 3173 (1845), 3174-81 (1785-87, 1798), 3182-88 (1786-87), 3189-91 (1789), 3194-97 (1805, 1807, 1809), 3198-3200 (1807-08), 3201-20, 3221-36 (1826-27), 3229-35 (1826-28), 3237-43 (1826, 1834, 1835), 3244-45 (1826), 3248, 3250 (1826, 1815), 3251-57 (1816, 1818, 1826), 3258-66 (1823, 1826), 3515 (1852), 3647, 4024, 4717

Mysore—2909 (1788), 3152 (1704)

Negapatam—4670 (1785), 4671 (1783)

Ornur—6300, 6301 (1829), 6302 (1829)

O'Meighan, the Rev J N—2179 (1788), 2180 (1788)

Padroado—260 (1781), 2308 (1836), 2309 (1838), 2311 (1836), 2677 (1794), 2765 (1798), 2887-88, 2891 2914, 2916-19, 2922-30, 2931, 2934, 2937, 2939, 2942, 2943, 3094, 3740 (1868), 3754 (1776), 3755 (1884), 4201 (1709), 4233 (1823), 4431 (1873), 4697 (1786), 5285 (1881), 5286 (1881), 5427 (1789), 5428 (1786), 6119 (1858), 6231 (1844), 6232 (1845)

Pondicherry—1977 (1804, Mgr Champenois to be Visitor of the Missions), 2597 (1796, Mgr N Champenois), French Revolution 2686 (1793), 2687, 2723 (1792), Mgr P Brivot 3556 (1779), 4173 (1776), 4214 (1769)

S Thomé, Mylapore, Diocese—236 (1606, erection of Diocese), 905 (1799, the Bishop asks Lord Clive for compensation for the losses suffered under Haidar Ali), 6251 (1751)

———, *Archives, Mylapore*—3758, 3759 (a list in English of the documents in various languages possessed by the Diocese, no date)

———, *Camara Ecclesiastica acquired, Mylapore*—797, 1012, 1018

———, *Descanço Church, Mylapore*—1910 (1854)

———, *Great Mount St Thomas, Mylapore*—65, 101, 103, 657, 690, 695-739, 744, 801, 821-28, 844, 852-56, 873-74, 1007, 1366, 1367, 1405, 1442, 1444, 1458, 1474, 1491, 1504, 1655, 1659, 1732, 1762, 1835, 2319, 2323, 2798, 2843, 2846, 2855, 2859, 2868, 2870-72, 2876, 2881, 2884, 3030, 3090, 3409, 3484, 3947, 3988, 4266, 4286, 4315, 4317, 4318, 4327, 4333, 4335, 5214, 5257, 5375-90, 5394, 5395, 5408, 5842, 5892, 6315, 6462, 6471.

———, *Little Mount, Mylapore*—104, 343, 349, 393, 819, 905, 989, 1404, 1430, 1555, 1591, 1721, 2866-67, 2011 (?), 2226, 2323, 2844-45, 2847-50, 2858, 2860-63, 2866, 3000, 3409 (?), 3467, 3616, 3884, 3948-52, 3955-56, 3959, 3972-73, 3995-98, 4513, 5237, 5239, 5252-54, 5361, 5363, 5367-69, 5373-74, 5383-85, 5619-20, 5785 (?), 5889, 5901-02, 6267-78, 6489, 6491.

———, *Luz Church, Mylapore*—25, 33, 264, 793, 734, 747, 864-5, 1313, 1327, 1360, 1362-3, 1448, 1736, 1780-89, 5250, 5259, 5262, 5281, 5732-36, 5737-41, 5750, 5752, 5754-57, 5791, 6284, 6417—Paulie property near Luz Church 562, 5167, 5238, 5737

———, *Madre de Deus Church, Mylapore*—887, 1968, 2996 (1787), 4148 (1840), Letters of P^e M L Ribeiro 1364, 1503, 1737, 2312, 5162

———, *Native Convent, Mylapore*.—887

———, *St Rita's Convent, Mylapore*—2923 (1841).

Secunderabad—5184, 5187, 5190, 5293, 5658.

Tanjore—6060-6200, 6282, 6323-56, 6379-84

Theatines of Golconda and Mysore—3431 (1788), 3526 (1832), 3542 (1788), 4322 (1816), 4451 (1797), 4454, 4455, 4467, 4468-71, 4475, 4516, 4619

Tinnevelly—5742

Tranquebar—2948-72 (1794), 2997 (1787), 6257-64, 6377, 6385.

Uscan, Pedro.—862, 920, 933, 934, 9035, 4458, 5086

Verapoly Mission—4174 (1776), 4176 (1776)

Vizagapatam—124 (1770), 2637 (1798), 3013-3017, 3019-24, 3236 (Samalacotta, 1854), 3249 (Vizianagram, 1826), 3521—22 (1833), 3635 (1813), 3647, 3991, 4473, 4929, 4961-5615, 6233.

Yanaon—2300, 3247 (1826), 3251-57 (1816, 1818, 1826), 3523 (1817), 4709

APPENDIX B

Government Archives, Pondicherry

The following shows a list of the different catalogues (MS.) which can be consulted for the Anciennes Archives, Pondicherry —

- 1 Répertoire, par ordre de matières et de dates, des Registres des Anciennes Archives de la Colonie, déposées dans une des salles de la Bibliothèque Publique de Pondicherry 1885, 22 pages
 Répertoire, par ordre de dates, de catégories, et de comptoirs différents, des plans, projets, études des Anciennes Archives de la Colonie, déposées à la Bibliothèque Publique de Pondicherry 8 pages
- 2 *Pondicherry* . 1^{er} Cahier . 48 pages (1860—8-4-1783)
 „ 2 „ 48 „ (16 4-1783—8 10 1788)
 „ 3^e „ 48 „ (10-10 1783—18-10 1791)
 „ 4^e „ 41 „ (18-10-1791—13 6-1792)
- 3 *Karikal* . 35 „ (Ma 1785—17-3 1854)
- 4 *Mahe* . 86 „ (30-8 1739—17 9-1853)
- 5 *Chandernagor* . 56 „ (1706—29 6 1847)

N B —Le Catalogue des documents de Yanaon n'existe pas, perdu, dit on, en 1897

- 6 Documents diplomatiques . 55 pages (1624—25 6 1793)
- 7 Documents des loges ci-après 70 „ (9-12 1669—31-10 1798)
 Mazulipatam, Yanaon, Balasor, Cassimbazar, Surate, Pounah, Iles de France, Dacca, Calicut, Choupour, Jougdia, Fort S Georges, Sirampoure, Pattane, Goa et Calcutta, Tranquebar, Haiderabad, Trinquemalé, Mocka, Palliacatte, Bombay, Bagdad, Battavia, Birmanie, Iles Andamanes, Sadras, Caveripatnam, Talpan, Pangl, Porto Novo
- 8 Catalogue des pièces détachées formant le fonds des Manuscrits du dépôt des Anciennes Archives des Etablissements français dans l'Inde, par Mr Edmond Gaudart *En préparation* 128 pages (7-6-1690—20 3-1785)¹
- 9 Catalogue des minutes des actes notariés de Pondicherry (1699-1814)
- 10 Inventaire des documents à déposer aux archives publiques de la Bibliothèque Coloniale à la demande de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Registres (1720 1812) Documents (1700 1814)
- 11 Minutes des actes notariés en tamoul (olles) jusqu' à 1814
- 12 Inventaire des actes notariés de Pondicherry, préparé par Mr A Singaravélou, Bibliothécaire adjoint, Conservateur des Anciennes Archives
 136 pages (8-9-1699—20 12-1727), 1258 pièces, la suite en préparation
- 13 Inventaire des Archives judiciaires de Chandernagor (1703 1816), 10 pages Publié dans la *Revue de l'histoire de l'Inde française*, Vol II (1918), par A Singaravélou
- 14 Répertoire des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde française, dressé en 1870, 246 pages
 Ce répertoire est mentionné sous le No O dans l'inventaire publié en 1914 par Mr Martineau sous le titre de "Inventaire des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde française"
- 15 3 Janvier 1777 Actes des décès de Chandernagor (Mentionné dans le Catalogue MS des documents de Chandernagor, 1706 1847, p 24)

¹ Mr Edmond Gaudart tells me (October 1, 1921) that part of his Catalogue of the MSS of the Pondicherry Archives is now in the press. The title will be *Catalogue des Manuscrits des anciennes Archives de l'Inde française. Première partie Pondicherry (1690 1789)*. He hopes that the first part will be out in three months after which he intends publishing a second volume on the documents of the same period concerning the comptoirs and places other than Pondicherry. After that there would be room for one or two volumes more, cataloguing the documents from 1789 to 1815, at which date the French re-occupied their establishments. The volume now in the press will be one of some 300 pages, and will review about 1,000 documents.

- 16 Septembre 1785 Duplicata du Registre des baptêmes, mariages et enterrements de Européens dans la Paroisse S. Louis à Chandernagor (*ib*, p 25)
- 1 Janvier 1786 Registre des baptêmes, mariages, enterrements des Européens dans la Paroisse S. Louis à Chandernagor (*ib*, p 25)
- 19 Decembre 1794 Registre des enterrements lors de la prise de Chandernagor par les Anglais, du 11 Juin 1793 (*ib*, p 35)
- 14 Février 1807 Registre contenant un seul acte de mariage, du Sr Jacques Brivir négociant (*ib*, p 36)

Dans un registre des Actes de l'Etat Civil (Archives de l'Etat Civil) de Pondichéry, numéroté 88, sont reliés plusieurs Cahiers où sont inscrits les actes de baptêmes, mariages et sépultures de Chandernagor

Baptêmes	. . .	2 Octobre 1792—26 Décembre 1792	12 feuillets
Mariages	. . .	30 Janvier 1792—25 Février 1793	10 „
Sépultures	. . .	2 Janvier 1792—31 Décembre 1792	. 14 „
Baptêmes	. . .	7 Janvier 1793—4 Novembre 1793	. 11 „
Mariages	. . .	13 Janvier 1793—12 Décembre 1793	. 8 „
Sépultures	. . .	3 Janvier 1793—26 Décembre 1793	. 15 „
Baptêmes	. . .	9 Janvier 1794—16 Décembre 1795	. 27 „
Mariages	. . .	28 Janvier 1794—9 Novembre 1795	. 16 „

NB — Le registre des actes de mariage de Chandernagor (3 Août 1814—28 Février 1818, 48 feuillets) se trouve aux Archives de Pondichéry

APPENDIX C

Madura Mission Papers, Trichinopoly

Papers referring to the expulsion of the Jesuit Fathers from the Fishery Coast in 1608¹

1		Annual Letter of 1608 and 1609			
2		Father Laerzio	30th December 1606	Aquaviva	
		Ditto	20th November 1607	Ditto	
		Ditto	25th November 1607	Ditto	Detailed account of the causes
		Ditto	20th November 1608	Alvarez, Assistant	
	I 20	Ditto	22nd November 1608		
		Ditto	28th October 1608		Reasons for abandoning the Churches of the Fishery Coast
		Ditto	30th December 1608	Aquaviva	
		Ditto	8th December 1610	Ditto	
3	IV 68	Fr Manoel Almeida	20th December 1608	Ditto	60 pages translated
4	VI 65	Fr Manoel Roiz	20th November 1608	Alvarez	
	73 VI 56				Notes to Fr Pimenta on S. Thomé
5	VI 60	Fr Nicolas Levanto	11th November 1608	Aquaviva	
	VI 79	Ditto	1609	Ditto	
6	VI 24	Fr Antonio Schipano	27th November 1606	Ditto	
	VI 82	Ditto	23rd December 1609	Ditto	
7	I 11	Fr Nicolas Spinola	1606		Instructions received from the Fathers and Christians at his departure for Portugal. Justification of the Fathers of the Fishery Coast
	I 12				
8	VI 7	Fr Alexander Leni	9th December 1607	...	
	VI 81	Ditto	22nd November 1609		
	VII 37	Ditto	27th December 1611		
9	VI 55	The Archbishop of Angamale	15th November 1607		See <i>infra</i> No. 14
10	VII 11	Fr Luis Cardozo	11th January 1610	Aquaviva.	
11	VI 84	Fr Francis Fernandez	26th November 1609	Ditto	From Cranganore
	VI 84	Ditto	27th November 1609	Ditto	Ditto
12	I a	Fr Aires de Saa	9th December 1609	Ditto	From Cochin.
	I b	Ditto	10th November 1607	Ditto	Ditto

¹ In this section the figures of the 2nd column are library marks (ditto for the figures of the 1st column under the other sections); the names in the last but one column under all the sections are those of the addressees

	VII 30	Fr Aires de Saa	18th November 1611	Aquaviva	From Nega- patam From Goa
13	VII 7	Memorial do Visita- dor	18th April 1610		
14	VI 61	Fr Francis Ros, Archbishop of Cran- ganore	10th November 1608	..	
	VI 64	Ditto	24th November 1608	Assistant	
	VI 63	Ditto	20th November 1609		
	VI 80	Ditto	21st November 1610	Aquaviva	
	VII 18	Ditto	18th November 1610	Cardinal of Palermo (Bellai- mino?)	
	VII 25	Ditto	23rd January 1611	Aquaviva	
	VI 55	Ditto	15th November 1607	Alvarez	See <i>supra</i> , No 9,
15	VI 70	Fr Jerome Gomez	22nd November 1608	...	From Cochín. Informations See <i>infra</i> , No 20
16	I 5 VII 50	Fr Nicolas Pimenta Ditto	5th September 1607 2nd January 1613	..	Declarations Other documents under Nos VI. 28, VI 30, VI 31, VI 32, VI 33
	VII 62	Apuntamientos of the Fathers of the south to the Viceroy	No date (1614?)		Must. the Fathers take up again the churches of the South or not?
17	VI 67	Letter from the King	15th February 1614	Jerome de Azevedo, Viceroy	Lisbon Wishes that the Fathers be re- called to the Fishery Coast
18	VII 24	Capitulos que dieron al Rey contra la Compañia	1611	..	The king answered to it on 25th Feb- ruary 1612 The summary of the answer is at the end of the Capítulos.
19	VII 85	The king's letter of 15th February 1614 appears in a more solemn one of	8th March 1616		
	VIII 12	Other copy of this letter		
20	I 19	Fr Jerome Gomez	1607	...	Information and justification of the Fathers See <i>supra</i> , No 15
	I 23	Ditto	1607	...	Information on the ancient Christianities of the Fishery Coast

21	I. 17	Capitulos of the Bishop of Cochín against the Fathers	1607		
22	VI 44	Short letter of the Bishop of Cochín	1607	Alvarez,	
23	VI 27	Answer of the Bishop of Cochín to the Apuntamientos	1607	Assistant	
24	VI 26	Answer of the Fathers to the accusations of the Bishop of Cochín	1607	.	
25	VI 30	Resolution taken by the Fathers	9th December 1607 .		
26	I 14	Other copy			
	I 15	Differences between the Archbishop of Cranganore and the Bishop of Cochín			
27	I 16	Relation of what passed between the Bishop of Cochín and the Fathers	1608		

Events of the Fishery Coast in 1631

VIII 54	Fr Manoel de Azevedo	4th December 1638		From Cochín
VIII 50	Miguel de Faria	1635		
II 21	Account communicated by Fr Fernão Lopez, and continued by Fr Ant Pereira	29th December 1631		58 pages, in 2 fascicles
VIII 46	Informação do Estado da Costa da Pescaria, 1632	4th December 1632	.	From Cochín
II 25	Informação, etc	1633		Signed by Miguel do Faria, Secretario
VIII 45	Of the state of things at the time when <i>una conservatoria</i> was taken	4th December 1632	..	From Cochín
II 18	Fr Gaspar Fernandez	20th December 1631		Request to the Pope
III 8	The rites of the Fishery Coast	No date	.	
VI 58	Don Sebastian, Bishop of Melapor	1st April 1608	.	Registered letter, very favourable to the Society of Jesus
VI 69	Ditto	23rd October 1608		Ditto
VII 31	Ditto	28th November 1610	To the General of the Society	From Melapor
VII 66	Ditto	10th May 1613	..	Certificate for the Fathers of the Society
VII 65	Fr Gaspar Fernandez, Provincial	24th November 1615	To the General of the Society	There is question of returning to the Coast.
VII 81	Ditto	27th November 1616	Ditto	The Bishop of S Thomé becomes Bishop of Cochín, his dispositions for the Fathers seem to have changed

VIII	18	Fr Ant Rubino . .	16th October 1623	...	From Cochín
VIII	16	Ditto . .	20th November 1623	...	From the Fishery Coast.
III	22	Ditto . .	2nd January 1625	..	From Punicael
VIII	30	Ditto . .	4th November 1627	...	From Tuticorin. Very interesting for the Coast and Madura Appeared in print
VIII.	51	...	1st January 1636	Assistant	From Cochín
VII	38	Fr Pedro Francisco, Provincial	29th October 1612	Aquaviva	Ditto
VIII.	3	Fr Andrew Palmeyro .	23rd January 1621	...	Difficulty of finding 14 Fathers for the Fishery Coast.
VIII	4	Ditto	27th January 1621	...	
VIII	13	Ditto .		..	
VIII	23	Ditto	18th December 1625	.	
VIII	17	Fr Gaspar de Andrada, Provincial	31st December 1623	.	
VIII	36	Fr Barthol Bergameo .	23rd January 1629	..	Accusations against the Portuguese Fathers and eulogy of the Italians
VII	119	Fr Manoel Nunes .	30th November 1619	.	Against the Italians
VIII	68	Fr Philip Grandi	30th April 1666	.	State of the Coast under the Dutch
VIII	97	Fr Emm Notticetti	2nd July 1684	..	State of the Fishery Coast.
VIII	126	Fr Emm Pereyra .	13th September 1692	.	From Travancore
V.	37	Ditto .	13th October 1711	...	From Travancore He writes about the tithes collected by the Fathers
V	43	Ditto .	22nd October 1712	...	Asks for 11 favours
V	45	Ditto .	19th October 1713	.	From the Fishery Coast.
V.	48	} Ditto	1st November 1714	...	{ Ditto—Sodalities of the B V M.
V	49			...	
V	58			..	
	(53 ?)	Ditto .	21st October 1715	..	From Manapad

Viceroy Count de Linhares and the Jesuits

VIII	40	Letter of the King	31st January 1629	The Viceroy	Recommends that the Superiors of the Society be Portuguese, not Italians
VIII	39	Count de Linhares .	13th March 1630	...	Apparently to the General, considering that the addressee is called V P —Unless the Rector of the College of Cochín, Fr Julius Caesar (P) Calligari, is changed, he will withdraw the subsidies (<i>ordinarias</i>) According to VIII 38, this letter was addressed to Fr Gaspar Fernandez, Provincial for the 2nd time, apparently, of Cochín

VIII 36	Fr Gaspar Fernandez	2nd December 1630	The General	Forwards the Viceroy's letter, shows how troublesome is the King's order that no foreigners should be appointed as Superiors, and asks that the order be revoked
VIII 36	Fr Barthol Bergameo	23rd January 1629	..	From the Serra Com- plains bitterly of the King's order.
VII 42	Fr Ester de Brito	18th December 1629		

Cranganore

All the Annual Letters up to 1655

VI 61	Letter of Archbishop D Franc Ros, S J	18th November 1608	.	
VI 6	Ditto	20th November 1608		
VI 6	Ditto	23rd November 1608		
VI 8	Ditto	21st November 1609		
VI 8	Ditto	21st November 1609		
VI 55	Ditto	25th November 1607		
I 4	Ditto	8th December 1601		
I 15	Ditto		..	Spanish
VI	Ditto	10th January 1603		
VI	Ditto	10th January 1603		
VII 39	Ditto	1609		
VII 18	Ditto	18th November 1610	.	
VII 25	Ditto	23rd January 1611		
VII 36	Ditto	11th December 1611	..	
VII 71	Ditto	27th December 1615	..	
VII 82	Ditto	9th December 1616	.	
VII 116	Ditto	24th November 1619		
VII 117	Ditto	26th November 1619		
VIII 41	Ditto	21st November 1619	.	
VII 122	Ditto	1619		
VII 104	Ditto	8th February 1619		
VII 109	Ditto	20th February 1619	..	
VII 105	The Bishop of Cochín against the Bishop of Cranganore	14th February 1619	The King	
VII 111	Ditto	19th March 1619	Ditto	From Goa
VII 107	Traslado da carta do Bispo de Cochim	16th February 1619		Ditto
VI 38	Fr João Maria	10th November 1607		
I a	Fr João Maria Campori	9th January 1604		
VI 11	Ditto	9th January 1604	Aquaviva	From Vaspicotta
VI 12	Ditto	9th January 1604	Ditto	Ditto
VII 69	Ditto	2nd February 1615		From Cranganore
VII 103	Ditto	21st December 1618	Cardinal Campori	Ditto
VII 43	Fr Francisco, Provincial	11th November 1612		From Cochín.
VI 71	Report sent from Portugal about a certain Frey Diego, a Francis can	1609, 1610	General S J	
VII 35	Archbishop D A de Menezes promulgates the Bull of Paul V (3rd December 1609) determining the limits of the Dioceses of Cochín and Cranganore	2nd December 1610		From Goa.

VII. 7. 8	Bull of Paul V	6th February 1616 (1611 P)	Archbishop of Goa	On the limits of the Dioceses of Cochin and Cranganore
VIII 24 VII 112	Archdeacon George Fr Diego Gonzales, Rector of Coulaõ	3rd December 1615 27th October 1619	Aquaviva	Origin of the difficulties between Cochin and Cranganore Information on the Arch- deacon of the Serra
II 55	D Francisco Ros, S J, and Fr Stephen de Britto	No date		
VII 47	Fr Francisco	30th November 1612		Attempts at conciliation between the Bishop of Cochin and the Arch- bishop of Cranganore Traditions on St Thomas No name of author, 25 pages
III 15	Gaspar Coelho De erroribus Nestorianorum qui in hac India Orientali versantur	No date		
VII 84	Fr Gaspar Fernandez	1617	The General S J	There is question of Colombo and Cranganore Wars between the Zamor- rin and the King of Cochin From Negapatam
VII 52	Fr Francisco	25th October 1613		
VII 60	Ditto	16th August 1614		
VIII 27	Andrew Pereira	24th December 1626		
VIII 31	Fr Barthol Beigameo	2nd January 1629		From the Serra Accusa- tions against the Portu- guese, defence of the Italians Accusations against the Italians Criticisms all round Accusations against Fr Laerzio and the Ita- lians
VII 119	Manoel Nanes	30th November 1619		
VIII 31	Ditto	2nd January 1628		
VIII 34	Andrew Gomez	1619		

Cranganore during the Schism.

II 49	De schismate Christiano- rum S Thomae	No date		
II 50	The Cassanars of Re- polim.	...		Then grievances against the Portuguese, they want Indian clergy, no Archbishops, etc
II 52	Summaria Relação da Serra	1654		
II 56	Summaria History of the origins and pro- gress of the Christian- ity of the Serra.	1654	...	
II 54	1 Letter of Viceroy Count de Obidos 2 Manoel Mas (Bras P) d'Almada, former Captain of Cranganore and Cochin	21st October 1653 12th January 1654	The Archb- shop	Testimonial in favour of the Fathers who have laboured among the St Thomas Christians. From Goa.
II 10	3 Blasius de Azevedo	28th July 1666	...	Other testimonials Letter from (about?) the Mission of the Serra, 63 closely written pages

II	53	Fr Salvador Machado	7th November 1654	..	History of the Serra, by one who had been 26 years a Missionary in the Serra
II	51	Don Francisco Garon, S J, Archbishop of Cranganore	8th December 1654	The General	From Cranganore
VIII	59	Ditto	8th December 1653	The Assistant	From Cochin
VIII	60	Translation of the petition of the Promoter of Justice of the Cranganore Archdiocese.	1653	...	14 pages of translations
V	18	Fr Estevão de Britto	17th January 1606	...	
VII	20	Ditto	4th December 1618 (1615 P)	...	From Cochin
VIII	32	Ditto	11th May 1628	..	From Cranganore.
VIII	42	Ditto	18th December 1629		Ditto
VIII	37	Ditto	23rd January 1629	The Cardinals of Pro paganda.	
VIII	47	Ditto	1st January 1633	...	
VIII	48	Ditto	16th December 1634	.	The Archdeacon sends 2,000 pardaos to an indigent niece in Portugal
VIII	57	Fr Jac de Magistris	20th October 1644	...	From Cochin Asking indulgences for 3 Churches
VIII	64	Ditto	16th July 1658	.	Laments on the state of Malabar, complaints of the Commissaries
VIII	66	Ditto	7th March 1661	.	Poverty of his Province.
VIII	67	Ditto	1662		Ditto.

Bisnaga or Vijayanagar

VI	3	Fr Francisco Riccio (Ricci)	10th September 1613	.	Copy of a memorial sent to the King against the Fathers of Chandragiri, and re addressed by the King to Count de Tavora, Viceroy Date about 1610, the paper stating that 2 years before the Bishop of Cochin conquered the Fathers of the Coast (1609)
I C		Antonio Viles decima (?)	c 1610	...	
VI	23	Fr Melchior Coutinho	4th November 1606	Aquaviva	From S Thomé, 4 pages
VI 23 bis		Ditto	4th November 1606	Ditto	From S Thomé
VI	29	Ditto	11th November 1607	Fr Alvarez	From Velur, 'Corte de Bisnagar'
VI	36	Ditto	5th November 1607	Aquaviva	From Velur
VI	68	Ditto	11th October 1608	Ditto	Ditto
VI	39	Bro Barthol Fontebona	11th November 1607	Fr Alvarez	Ditto
VI	59	Ditto	7th November 1608	Aquaviva	Ditto
I	90	Fr Antonio Rubino	1607		Breve Relazione
VI	37	Ditto	8th November 1607		From Chandragiri.
VI	76	Ditto	20th October 1609	.	Ditto
VI	72	Ditto	30th September 1609		Ditto

VII 87	Fr Antonio Rubino	29th November 1617	..	From S Thomé, where he has been Rector 4 years
VII 40	Fr Francisco . .	2nd November 1612	..	From Cochim Pulicat taken from the Dutch

Madura Mission.

VII 100	Fr Antonino Toscano	13 Kal Jan. 1618	.	Declares that the thread and the <i>Kudum</i> are <i>signa politica</i>
VII 41	Fr Pedro Francisco, Provincial	4th November 1612	Aquaviva .	From Cochim He has visited the Fathers of Madura.
VIII 10	Fr Andrew Palmeiro .	1620	.	About the visitation of the Province
VIII. 11	Ditto .	1620	.	Madura holds out no promises for the future
VIII. 28	Fr Andrew Lopez	2nd May 1627	.	Speaks of the 'glorious' Madura Mission
VII 70	Fr Estevão de Brito .	4th December 1618 (1615 ^o)	.	From Cochim
VIII 5	The Primate of Goa	20th February 1620	The General S J	
II 57	Fr Sebastian da Maya	8th August 1640	Fr Manoel de Azevedo	From Madurai Account of the chief events in the Madura Mission, the Fathers imprisoned Cf Bertrand, II 308
II 37	Fr Balthasar da Costa	20th October 1644	The General S J ,	Account of what has happened in the Madura Mission from July 1643 to October 1644, 25 pages, 2 copies Cf Bertrand, II 317
II 35	Ditto	8th July 1648	Fr Pedro Paulo, Provincial of the South	From Trichinopoly Relation on Satiamangalam
VIII 61	Ditto	22nd December 1655	The General S J	From Cochim Requests that he should cause outstanding debts to be paid to the Mission
VIII 73	Fr Andrew Freyre	16th August 1680		Complains that the Fathers of Mysore encroach upon the Madura Mission Fr Joseph Mucciavelli's death has been lost on them Arrival of a Carmelite in the Mission
VIII 77	Ditto	5th January 1680	Fr Pedro Paulo de S Francisco, a Carmelite	
VIII 121	Ditto .	15th January 1680	Ditto	From Vaduguerpatty
VIII 120	Fr Paul de S Francisco, a Carmelite	3rd January 1680	..	From Outtamapalayam.

VIII 109	Fr Paul de S Francisco, a Carmelite	6th April	1686	The Superior of the Mis sion	From Alantala
VIII 109	Ditto	2nd June	1686	Ditto	From Tondi
VIII 109	Answer of Fr J de Britto, Superior	4th June	1686	,	From Velleypattam (?)
VIII 111	Fr Paul .	13th June	1686	..	From Tuticorin The Cassanars allowed to say Mass in our Churches
VIII 107	Ditto .	5th June	1686		From Tuticorin
VIII 106	Ditto	1st June	1686	...	From Manapad
	Blessed John de Britto	19th November	1668	.	From Coimbatore Care- fully written, and asking to be sent to the Missions
VIII 118	Ditto	24th May	1689	.	From Lisbon Asking for several permissions
VIII 97	Fr Emm Notticitti, Provincial of Malabar	2nd July	1684		
VIII 108	Fr Manoel Rodriguez				
VIII 109	Ditto				
VIII 110	Ditto				
VIII 103	Ditto				
VIII 105	Ditto				
VIII 116	Fr Jerome Tolomei	25th December	1687	..	Five letters regarding the Carmelite who came to the Madura Mission
VIII 117	Ditto	15th November	1687	.	From Ancona Rejoices at being sent to the Missions
					From Goa Twelve of them reached Goa in good health on 12th September 1689 "In 4 or 5 days we shall start for Malabar <i>Con- tentissima della mia missione de Maduré</i> "
VIII 134	Fr Andrew Gomez .	20th September	1699		From Toppo (?) Plea- sure at the arrival of Frs Camillo Gozzadini and Bertholdi The same year (1697) Fr Maynard joined the Malabar Mission Eulogy of the three
V 53	Fr Emman Pereira	21st October	1715	.	From Manapad Some news about the Madura Mission
V 128	Fr Dominic d'Almeida	28th October	1693	...	Learning on 10th August 1693 that he was ap- pointed Provincial by a letter dated 20th Janu- ary 1692, he declined the dignity, but the Fathers would not reheve him in spite of his infirmities
V 2	Fr Christopher Smedo, Vice Provincial	8th August	1700	..	From Topo Relates ^v s de Saa and Laynez's sufferings

V	11	Fr Christopher Samedo, Provincial	7th October 1705	.	Sanars, Topo destroyed ; 3 Missionaries for the Sanars John da Costa, Jos Köpf, Simon Carvalho of the Madura Mission
V	12	Ditto	11th October 1705	...	News from the Province.
V	13	Ditto	18th October 1705	...	Fr de Barros robbed, tithes on the Coast
V	17	Ditto	10th October 1708		About the Madura Mis- sion

Events of general interest

VII.	59	Fr Francisco . .	30th August 1614	..	From Negapatam On Pegu and Bengal, de- feat of the Portuguese ; a Father imprisoned in Ava
VII	29	Fr Simon de Saa .	10th November 1611		From S Thomé War between the King of Bisnaga and the Gover- nor of S Thomé
VII	23	Fr Andrew Pereira	16th December 1620	..	From Cochin Informa- tion on Bengal.
VII	63	Ditto	1st October 1615		Ogolim (Hugh) Sorrows.
VII	86	Ditto	28th May 1617		Ogolim
VIII	1	Fr Andrew Palmeiro .	1620	.	Regulations for the whole Southern Province.
VIII	10	Ditto	20th December 1620		Visitation of the Pro- vince
VIII	25	Fr Cacella .	10th July 1626	.	Hugh His journey to Tibet
VIII	49	Fr Albert Mecinski (a Pole)	19th April 1635	.	Great eulogy of Fr Ant. Rubino and Bro de Basto
VIII	29	Fr António Reis	4th January 1627		From Bengal, speaks of the Cathay (Tibet) ex- pedition
V	102	Fr Michael Nau -	12th July 1664	..	From Paris Asks to be sent to Madagascar
VIII	63	Fr Giraldo da Rocha	11th March 1658		Proposes to divide the Assalona property
VIII.	62	Ditto .	1659	.	Quotes Fr Francis Bar- retto (1658, 1659) on the dangerous situation of the Mission owing to the Dutch
None	.	Fr Fortunati .	18 Kal Nov 1653	...	From Seringapatam, on the Mysore Mission
III	7	Fr François Oliveira	10th December 1664	...	From Goa State of the Cochin Province
VIII	98	Ditto	25th September (P) 1684		From Coulam
VIII	112	Ant de Silveira . .	4th September 1686	The Pope	Complains of a Carmelite, who has gone every- where without permis- sion
VIII	63	Fr Joseph of St Mary, Carmelite, Commis- sary Apostolic	November 1659	...	D Demands obedience ; D Raphael de Figueredo

VIII	87	Registered attestation that the Fathers did not demand D Raphael's departure for Manilla	17th August 1683		
VIII	84	Monitorium from D Raphael	2nd March 1683		
VIII	92	Fr Christ Semedo	15th November 1683	..	In connection with D Raphael
VIII	86	Fr Christ Semedo, Rector	3rd September 1683	...	From Travancore
VIII	85	Capitulos of the Chapter of Cochin	1683	...	
VIII	89	Testimony of the Cassanars in favour of the Society of Jesus	23rd October 1683	..	
VIII	93	D Raphael, Bishop of Adrumetum	1683-1687		Four short letters Powers given to the Jesuits
V	101	Mgr Clemente José	5th December 1767	Procurator of the Province	From Coulam On the state of Malabar
VI	75	Diogo Leytam	14th December 1686	..	From Hughl (Bengal) On the founding of the College of Bengal
VIII	99	Luis da Sylva	26th November 1685	.	Same subject
VIII	82	Fr Simon Martins	22nd July 1683	.	From Goa Refutes 14 calumnies Cf D Raphael Figueredo
VIII	83	Ditto	20th August 1683	.	From Goa Ditto
V	46	Ditto	4th August 1683	.	Ditto Ditto in Latin
V	46	Louis Rodriguez, Rector, Travancore	November 1713	.	On the atrocities committed by Rama Varma, Nemam, personal poverty
V	59	Ditto	5th November 1717	.	On Madura, Nemam, Sanars, Tuticorin, great difficulties occasioned by heretics and 4 or 5 bad Christians, Fr Manel is no longer at Tuticorin, where he is much desired, Church closed by the Dutch
VIII	132	Fr Andrew Gomez, Provincial	20th September 1690	.	From Topo—College of Bengal, a <i>crámam</i> bought
VIII	133	Ditto	20th September 1698	.	From Topo About Fr John Antunes, the Visitor of Bengal
VIII	134	Ditto	20th September 1699	.	Decree received by which the Malabar Province is joined to the Goa Province The Fathers have expressed to the General their reasons against the measure
VIII	135	Ditto	22nd December 1699	.	Announces a gift of 24,000 seraphins from Queen Catherine of England
VIII	130	Fr Adrian Paul, Procurator, Lisbon	29th November 1695	.	

V 17	Fr Christian Semedo .	15th October 1706	...	About Peter Pacheco, Bishop of Cochín, poverty of the Fishery Coast
V 24	Ditto	10th October 1708	.	

List of historical paintings and manuscripts exhibited at Delhi before the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Portraits lent by Rai Sahib Lala Parasdas, Honorary Magistrate, Delhi.

- 1 Fighting between Shahabud-Din Ghorî and Pirthî Raj.
 - 2 Tansen and Akbar visit Biju Baora
 - 3 The siege of Golconda by Aurangzeb
 - 4 The Darbar of Salim Shah Suri
 - 5 Mirza Salim, brother of Bahadur Shah II
 - 6 Maharaja Jiva Rao Sindhia hunting
 - 7 Fighting between Nanga Faqis
 - 8 Geese
 - 9 Farrukhsiyar and Shûm Liqa (sweet face)
 - 10 Mirza Fakhru, heir-apparent of Bahadur Shah II
-

Portraits lent by M Abdur Razzaq of Delhi.

- 11 Darbar of Amîr Timûr
- 12 Aurangzeb going in a Nalkî.
- 13 Nûr Jahan and Jahangîr on horseback
14. Humayun
- 15 Raja Todarmal
- 16 Mirza Ghiyas
- 17 Sultana Razia
- 18 An unknown Raja.
19. Rani Jodh Bai
- 20 Jahangîr with a hawk
- 21 Akbar's Darbar
- 22 Jahangîr with a sword and dagger
- 23 Jahanara painted by Hashim
- 24 Fath Ali Shah of Persia
25. Rani Najmat bathing with two attendants
- 26 Shah Jahan's Darbar

Portraits lent by Munshi Ganeshi Lal of Delhi.

- 27. Dara Shikoh
- 28. Aurangzeb Alamgir.
- 29. Akbar Shah II.
- 30. An unknown Begam bathing.
- 31. Ragni.
- 32. Jahangir.

Portraits lent by Lala Bulaqi Das of Delhi.

- 33. Daibai of Raja Pirthi Raj.
- 34. Darbar of Shah Jahan in the Diwan-i-Khas, Delhi.
- 35. Zebun Nisa Begam.
- 36. Zebun Nisa Begam with a female attendant
- 37. Jesus Christ and Mary.
- 38. Raja Ajit Singh with his Rani.
- 39. Aurangzeb Alamgir.
- 40. Jahangir
- 41. Rani Rupri
- 42. Muhammad Shah, King of Delhi.
- 43. Aurangzeb, King of Delhi
- 44. Rani Shanthi.

Portraits lent by Lala Sri Ram Sahib, M.A., Rais, Delhi.

- 45. Emperor Muhammad Shah swinging.
- 46. Mahmud of Ghazni and his slave Ayaz.
- 47. Akbar Shah II holding his Darbar (large).
- 48. Bahadur Shah II and his courtiers
- 49. Jahangir giving audience to Sir Thomas Roe
- 50. Akbar the Great with arrow in hand.
- 51. Emperor Muhammad Shah with a rose in hand.
- 52. Nur Jahan Begam with a hawk.
- 53. Shah Alam II granting the Diwan of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa to Lord Clive
- 54. Shah Jahan sitting on the Peacock Throne and holding a Darbar with numerous courtiers standing in their respective positions
- 55. Raja Suraj Mal of Bharatpur who plundered Delhi and Agra Forts
- 56. Emperor Aurangzeb with two attendants,
- 57. Jahangir sitting on the throne.

- 58 Prince Danyal eloping with a lady from the fort
- 59 A shikargah (hunting ground) (Persian)
60. Sultana Razia with her Abyssinian slave
- 61 Akbar and his Christian wife named Maiy
- 62 Begam Samroo.
- 63 Baba Ratan.
- 64 Jahangir
- 65 Farrukhsiyar
66. Princess Bilqis
67. Wajid Ali Shah's wife
- 68 Son of Begam Samroo who used to live in the Delhi & London Bank, Delhi
- 69 Abdur Rahim Khan Khan-i Khanan
- 70 Madhoji Patel Sindhia
71. Wajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh
- 72 Nawab Wazir Ali Khan, son of Nawab Asafud-Daulah.
73. An unknown prince, probably Rajput (in yellow robe)
- 74 Rani Jodh Bai
- 75 Rajput dancers with swords in hand
- 76 Nawab Shamsud-Din Khan Bahadur of Ferozpur Jhirka.
- 77 Muhammad Shah enjoying Holi festival
- 78 Nur Jahan and Jahangir taking an omen
- 79 Nur Jahan holding *Nauroz Mahfil*.
- 80 Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh
- 81 Babar with his courtiers.
- 82 Nur Jahan shooting tigers
- 83 Ali Mardan Khan, engineer, and Sadullah Khan, wazir of Shah Jahan
- 84 The ceremony of showing stars on the 6th day of birth of a child to the mother and babe under the shade of swords to ward off evil geni
- 85 Nauratan of Akbar
- 86 Nur Jahan strolling in the garden

Specimens of calligraphy lent by M Abdur Razzaq of Delhi.

- 87 Washi written by Ubaidullah Shamin Raqam
- 88 Washi written by Abdur Rahman
- 89 Washi written by Mu'ammad Hasan.
- 90 Washi written by Muhammad Hasan
- 91 Washi written by Abdullah Ijaz Raqam
- 92 Washi written by Muhammad Fazil Abbasi.

- 93 Wash written by Aqa II.
- 94 Four pages written by Rahmat Husain Khan, of the time of Muhammad Shah
- 95 Wash written by Muhammad Musawi of Tabriz
- 96 Wash written by Yaqut Raqam Khan
- 97 Wash written by Bahadur Shah (when Crown Prince)
- 98 Wash written by Abdullah
99. Wash written by Muhammad Shah Badshah.
- 100 Wash written by Muhibbi
101. Wash written by Ismatullah Khan
- 102 Wash written by Ghulam Muhammad
- 103 Wash written by Nadir Raqam Khan
104. Wash written by Muhammad Saidud-Din.
- 105 Wash written by Shiv Ram
- 106 Wash written in Shikasta
- 107 Wash written by Faqir
- 108 Wash written by Ghulam Muhammad.
- 109 Wash written on Abii
- 110 Exercise in Calligraphy

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- 111 Wash written by Abdur Rashid.
- 112 Wash written by Mir Imad
- 113 Wash dated 1246 A H
- 114 Wash written by Ghulam Rasul Qandahari
- 115 Wash written by Muhammad Amir
- 116 Wash written by Muhammad Amir
- 117 Wash written by Muhammad Afzal Bukhari
- 118 Wash written by Ismatullah Khan
119. Wash written by Muhammad Afzal, dated 1122 A H.
- 120 Wash written by Agha Mirza.
- 121 Wash written by Amir
- 122 Three washs written by Muhammad Amir Qandahari and Agha.
- 123 Wash written by Mir Haji
- 124 Wash written by Abdul Baqi Haddad
- 125 Wash written by Muhammad Amiri
- 126 Wash written by Tughlaq Shah.
- 127 Wash written by Ismatullah
- 128 Wash written by Yaqut Raqam Khan
129. Wash dated 1084 A H.

- 130 Wash written by Madad Ali, dated 1272
 - 131 Wash written by Muhammad Yusuf Beg
 - 132 Wash written by Muhammad Amir
 - 133 Wash written by Muhammad Amu
 - 134 Wash written by Hafiz Muhammad Ali
 - 135 Wash written by Muhammad Faqir
 - 136 Wash (sketch) written by Imad
 - 137 A prayer from Mulla Ali adorned with gold.
 - 138 An application to Shah Jahan
 - 139 An application to Farrukhsiyar
 - 140 Exercise in calligraphy by Abdur Rashid.
 - 141 Seal impressions of Lord Canning and others
 - 142 A few pages of the Quran illuminated with gold, supposed to have been written by Yaqut
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Specimens of calligraphy lent by Lala Sri Ram Sahib, M A , Rais, Delhi

- 143 Wash written by Bahadur Shah II
 - 144 Wash written by Bahadur Shah II
 - 145 Wash written by Prince Dara Shikoh
 - 146. Bound volume of washs written by different calligraphists
 - 147 Bound volume of washs written by different calligraphists.
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Portraits and manuscripts lent by Imre Schwaiger, Esq , Delhi.

- 148 Manuscript copy of the Gulistan of Sadi illustrated
 - 149 Manuscript copy of Khusrau Shirin illustrated.
 - 150 Portrait of a prince of the house of Timur
 - 151 Portrait of Nizamul Mulk, a minister of Muhammad Shah
 - 152 Portrait of Raja Karan Singh with a hawk
 - 153. Portrait of an unknown prince on horseback hunting deer and hares
 - 154 Karqubad, the last slave king, enjoying a village scene.
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Manuscripts lent by Maulavi Zafar Hasan, B A , Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India

- 155 Chahar Gulshan, a general history of India by Chatarman
- 156 Lubb-ut Tawarikh-i Hind, a general history of India
- 157 Futuh-at-Firoz Shahi, a record of Firoz Shah's doings by Firoz Shah.
- 158 Zafarnamah-i Timuri with preface by Sharfud-Din Yazdi
- 159 Tarikh-i Sher Shahi, also called Tuhfa-i Akbar Shahi, by Abbas Khan Shu wani.

- 160 Tarikh-i Muzaffari by Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari.
- 161 Badshahnamah by Mulla Muhammad Amin Qazvini
162. Chahar Chaman by Chandarbhan
- 163 Shash Fath-i Kangra by Jalal Taba Tabar
- 164 Bahar-i Sahhun by Muhammad Salih Kamboh
- 165 Kalimat-i Tayyabat, a collection of letters by Auiangzeb
- 166 Maktubat-i Hamidud-Din, a collection of letters by Hamidud-Din
- 167 Wasiatnamah of Amir Timur Gurgan by Timur Shah
- 168 Amirnamah, biography of Amir Khan of Tonk by Basawan Lal.
- 169 Tarikh-i Kashmir by Chandar Malik
- 170 Safainamah-i Abu Talib by Abu Talib, son of Muhammad Asfahani.
- 171 Bisatul Ghanaim, also called Tarikh-i Marhatai, by Lachman Narain Shafiq
- 172 Alamgirnarah by Kirpa Ram Kayasth
- 173 Ruqqat-i Lachmi Narain, a collection of letters by Lachmi Narain
- 174 Inshai Munir by Munir.
- 175 Maktubat-i Saif Khan by Saif Khan
176. Ruqqat-i Bihag Chand by Bihag Chand
- 177 Inshai Badi by Badiuz Zaman.
178. Samaratu-l Quds, a history of the Muhammadan saints by Lal Beg, the paymaster of Prince Murad

Manuscripts lent by M Abdur Razzaq of Delhi

- 179 Tarikh-i Abbasi
- 180 Gulistan written by Mir Abul Hasan Rizvi
- 181 Bostan written by Mir Abul Hasan Rizvi
- 182 Nadirnamah by Muhammad Mahdi
183. Shahjahannamah by Muhammad Amin Qazvini
- 184 Akhlaqi Mohsin, written in 1059 A H
- 185 Majmu-as-sanai by Nizamud-Din Ahmad.
- 186 Maasiri Alamgiri
- 187 Sikandarnamah
- 188 Timurnamah.
- 189 Jahangirnarah
- 190 Abul Fazl's letters written in 1235 A H
- 191 Mulla Tughra, Nuskhah, written in 1122 A H
- 192 Shahnarah with 18 illustrations.
- 193 Mukhtarnamah with 45 illustrations, dated 1056 A H. and written by Muhammad Shafi
- 194 A book of prayer in Khatt-i-Gulzar written by Sayid Muhammad Waris Ali Alwi.
195. Quran Sharif adorned with gold work

Manuscripts etc lent by M Abdur Razzaq of Delhi.

- 196 Farman of Alamgir II, dated the first year of his reign
- 197 Farman of Ahmad Shah, dated the sixth year of his reign
- 198 Attestation deed of Nizamud-Din Ahmad, Tahsildar, Jais and Partabgarh, of the time of the Mutiny
- 199 Seal impressions of some of the Governors General and other officers and private men.
- 200 Seal impression of Her Imperial Majesty Queen Victoria, dated 1850
- 201 Seal impression of His Highness Prince Albert, Consort of Queen Victoria, dated 1850.
- 202 Seal impression of the Emperor Jahangir
- 203 Seal impression of Shah Abbas of Persia
- 204 Eight-anna Court stamp, dated 1881 A D, of the Court of W. B Martin, Esquire, Resident and Chief Commissioner, Delhi

Manuscripts lent by Lala Sri Ram Sahib, M A , Rais, Delhi

- 205 Shahnamah illustrated
- 206 Quran Sharif, dated 1064
- 207 Diwan-i Zahir-i Faryabi illustrated
- 208 Kulliat-i Sauda with author's portrait and said to be written during the lifetime of Sauda It is dated 1215 A H.
- 209 Bhagwat Gita illustrated
- 210 Ramayan illustrated
- 211 Masnawi Maulana Rum illustrated
- 212 Masnawi of Mir Hasan
- 213 Ragmala with sketches of Rag and Raginis
- 214 Gulistan of Sadi, dated 1028 A H , written in translation style and bearing an endorsement of the Nawab of Karnatic who presents the MS to his cousin
- 215 Qasida-i Shauq Urfi Shirazi, dated 1136 A H , written by Muhammad Amin of Nishapur for Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golconda
- 216 Larla Majnun illustrated
- 217 Hasht Bahisht by Amir Khusrau, dated 960 A H , on the margin and Khamsa of Nizami in the centre
- 218 Masnawi of Amir Khusrau, dated 959 A H , written in four lines
- 219 Khamsa of Nizami
- 220 A book written on palm leaves in Pali characters
- 221 Timurnamah by Hatifi illustrated
- 222 Chronology of the Kings of Persia, dated 1198 A H

